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Book No. 609

THE LIFE AND TIMES
OF
SHAIKH FARID-U'D-DIN
GANJ-I-SHAKAR

By
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With a Foreword by
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THE LIFE AND TIMES
OF
SHAIKH FARID-U'D-DIN GANJ-I-SHAKAR

By the same Author

1. Political Letters of Shāh Walī-ullah of Dehli
2. Tārīkh-i-Mashāikh-i-Chisht
3. Hayāt-i-Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith-i-Dehli
4. Supplement to Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. II.
5. Khair-u'l-Majālis (Critical Edition).

DEDICATED

to

those moments of exquisitely pleasant spiritual agony
when

BABA FARID

alone in his tumbling hut---in the dead of the night, with his face lifted
heavenwards and tears trickling down his cheeks, recited :

خواهم که همیشه در هوای تو زیم
خاکی شوم و بزیل پای تو زیم
مقصود من بندگی کونین نوی
از بهر تو میرم ز برای تو زیم

FOREWORD

A century has now passed since scholars began to realize the need of interpreting the history of Islam in terms of contemporary historical science. The progress that has been made since then in many directions is undeniable ; but every advance has only thrown into ever sharper relief the extent of the task still to be done. The first and most urgent requirement was to fashion the external framework, to trace the historical growth of the Muslim Community in space and time. Even in this field much still remains to be done in detail, but the outlines at least are firmly drawn. The next, and more difficult, problem is to study this history in depth, to uncover its social mechanisms and show the working of its institutions, to understand the interrelations of its component elements and evaluate the response of communities and individuals to successive material and moral challenges. The vast extent and intricacy of these investigations need no exposition, and it will be many years before the student of Muslim history can see, or hope to see, the whole picture clearly displayed before him. The immediate need is for close monographic study of individual facets and problems relating to the social and economic aspects of urban and rural life and to the factors which moulded the attitudes and activities of different groups, combined with the search for surviving documentary materials of every kind.

Pre-eminent among these problems relating to the life of the Muslim Community in all regions since the twelfth century is the activity and influence of the sufi shaikhs and orders. It was into the sufi movement that the life-blood of the Community flowed ever more strongly. No adequate history of Islam can be written until it, with all its causes and effects, has been studied patiently and with scholarly integrity. In no region, moreover, is this study more fundamental or more urgently required than in that of Islam in India. Islam came into India in the wake of conquering armies and found itself confronted by a culture and civilization with which it had in the first centuries no point of contact and no common ground except in the one field of the mystical search. Here the significance of Sufism in the life of the Muslim Community was redoubled by its significance in the non-Muslim environment. Less even than Islam elsewhere can Islam in India be studied and understood without an insight into the meaning, causes and effects of the sufi movements.

No further argument is needed to demonstrate the importance of the studies now being directed by a small band of Indian Muslim scholars

into the heart of this problem, nor to underline its timeliness. The present work of Mr. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami takes its fitting place in this scholarly enterprise. Baba Farid is a seminal personality in the development of the Islamic mystical movement in India. The first necessity, before this movement can be historically (or even theologically) evaluated, is to situate such personalities in their own environment and to see them with the eyes of their contemporaries. This is what Mr. Nizami has done for Baba Farid, wisely and with good historical sense refraining from any attempt to import into his study either premature generalizations or the distorting views of later centuries.

H. A. R. GIBB

St. John's College,
Oxford, 28th April, 1955.

PREFACE

*"There is
One great society alone on earth
The Noble Living and the Noble Dead."*

The study of medieval Indian history has for long centred round the pomp and panoply of the courts and camps of the kings, and we have got into the habit of surveying 'the historical landscape from the foot of the royal throne.' But now a stage has been reached in our historical studies when we should turn to the humble dwellings of those saints and sages who, unspoilt by wealth and power and uncorrupted by court-life, dedicated their pious lives to the spiritual uplift of man. At a time when race for political power was the prevailing madness, they reminded men of their moral and spiritual obligations and in a world torn by strifes and conflicts they strove to bring about the harmony of a perfect orchestra.

If it is correct to say that ninety percent of the energies of our people in the middle ages were absorbed by their spiritual and moral efforts, the need and urgency of studying the lives of the saints can hardly be over-emphasized. In their life-stories we can find a glimpse of medieval society, in all its fullness, if not in all its perfection—the moods and tensions of the common man writ large; the inner yearnings of his soul, the religious thought both at its higher and lower levels; in fact, all problems with which the medieval people were faced. The medieval *Khānqahs* were the places where the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the learned and the illiterate, men and women, villagers and town folk—all met and rubbed their shoulders together, leaving all class distinctions outside the *Khānqah* gate. Here I have attempted, through the medium of the life-story of a leading saint of the time, to present an aspect of the spiritual quest of the middle ages.

This life-sketch of *Shaiikh* Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar (1175-1265), is one of the series of monographs which I have planned on medieval mystics. To those people who have long concentrated on the military and spectacular affairs, this series extends an humble invitation in the words of Sanā'i:

ای کہ شنیدی صفت روم و چین
خیز و بیا ملک سنائی به بین

('Oh Thou who has heard of the glories of Rum and China,
Get up and behold the realm of Sanā'i.)

While preparing this small biography of a great medieval saint, my endeavour has been to make as critical and judicious a use of the available sources as possible. In using contemporary works due allowance has been made for the attitude of the author, while in the case of later works an attempt has been made to remove that coating which legend and superstition have woven round the real figures of these saints. Statements of later writers have been accepted only in cases where corroborative evidence from the earlier sources is forthcoming or where these statements do not run counter to contemporary authorities. The fabricated literature of the period, which consists of a number of *malfūzāt* and *dīwāns*, has been completely rejected in deference to Shaiḵh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī's verdict that they contain much which is not worthy of the Chishtī saints.

It is my pleasant duty to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Zākir Husain, Vice-Chancellor of our University, for the keen interest that he has taken in my work and to Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb and Professor Shaiḵh 'Abdur Raṣīd for their kindness in going through the manuscript and suggesting many improvements. Sir Hamilton Gibb has placed me under a heavy debt of obligation by writing a Foreword to this book. When I approached him with this purpose, he wrote to me : "As regards the Foreword to your monograph on Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar, I will say frankly that I do not as a rule write Forewords. On the other hand, it would be absurd to adopt a hard and fast regulation which took no account of circumstances. I shall not and cannot promise you here and now that you will get a Foreword from me, but I shall certainly read the typescript with interest and care, if you will be kind enough to send it ; and if the work is what I hope and expect to find, then I shall willingly make an exception to the rule." Within a month of the despatch of the typescript he sent this Foreword to me for which I am very grateful to him. In spite of the association of these great names with this humble work, I alone am responsible for its imperfections and defects. With great diffidence I place it before the kindly reader.

KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI

Muslim University,
Aligarh.
November 20, 1955.

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INTRODUCTION

Shaikh Farid-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar (1175-1265), popularly known as Bābā Farīd, is one of the most revered and distinguished of medieval Muslim mystics. For many years his Khānqah at Ajodhan—the modern Pāk-Patan—was a place of pilgrimage for millions of people of all castes and creeds. Teeming crowds flocked to it and found spiritual solace in his company. A calm spiritual atmosphere pervaded his dwelling, and men who were secretly tormented by flames of mundane ambitions, found in his Khānqah 'the refreshing breeze of a different world'. He was a living light to which it was good and pleasant to be near and he inspired everyone who came into contact with him. To-day, when we think of him, thanks to the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* of Amīr Hasan Sijzī and the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* of Amīr Khurd, a world of historic visions and memories glows into consciousness.

Bābā Farīd lived at a very significant period of Indo-Muslim history. He saw the collapse of the Ghaznawid power in the Punjab, the march of the Ghurian armies into Aryavarta, the liquidation of Rajput power in Northern India and the final subjugation of Hindustan by the Turks. Later on, he heard the Mongols knocking at the gates of India and saw the panic and the fear which gripped the people at every Mongol incursion. The stream of Central Asian refugees flowed into his neighbourhood. The city of Dehlī—with her newly built minarets, mosques and tanks—rose into prominence in his life-time. He was in his thirties when Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Ghurī was assassinated at Damyak and in his nineties when Balban ascended the throne of Dehlī. Thus the story of his life is an important aspect of the spiritual history of medieval India during its most momentous and significant years of hectic and restless political activity. At a time when the entire country was resounding with the din and clatter of the Ghurian arms, Bābā Farīd sat cool and collected in his tumbling hut in a far-off town of the Punjāb, teaching lessons of human love and affection. Today the territorial achievements of Shihāb-u'd-dīn are tales of the past, but the message of Bābā Farīd still echoes through the corridors of time.

Muslim mysticism is, in its essence, a message of love. It aims at creating harmony in the discordant elements of society. True to these ideals, Bābā Farīd strove day and night to create that atmosphere of love and good-will which was, and is even to-day, the greatest desideratum of human society. A healthy social order—free from dissensions, conflicts, discriminations, hatred and jealousy—was the

thing he longed for. In love, faith, toleration and sympathy, which included even the enemy, he found the supreme talisman of human happiness. "Do not give me scissors", he told a visitor who had presented him a pair of scissors, "give me a needle. I sew. I do not cut".

As I have shown elsewhere,¹ higher mysticism, as understood and interpreted by its best exponents, is nothing but service of humanity. Bābā Farid's long life was spent in helping people in distress. Every day hundreds of people brought their worries to him. He heard everyone's problems sympathetically and, in his own peculiar way, created in his visitors that unshakable faith in God, respect for moral values and that proper attitude of mind which helped them in self-control in the midst of the severest tribulations and trials of life. What Professor Moḥammad Ḥabīb has written about Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-din Auliā, may with striking aptness, be said with regard to him: "He was not a miracle-monger of ordinary sort. He never flew in the air or walked on water with dry and motionless feet. His greatness was the greatness of a loving heart; his miracles were the miracles of a deeply sympathetic soul. He could read a man's inner heart by a glance at his face and spoke the words that brought consolation to a tortured heart."² If ever the overcrowding of visitors prevented him from paying individual attention to everyone, he would cry out: "Come to me one by one so that I may attend to your problems individually." Tales of human sufferings racked his heart and scared his soul. He suffered for others and shared their grief. His kind words of sympathy and advice were like balm to the afflicted who came to him. How correct is Barani's estimate of the Shaikh when he says, "He has taken the inhabitants of this region under his wings!"³

Few saints in the long and chequered history of Indo-Muslim mysticism have subjected their physical self to such rigorous spiritual discipline as Bābā Farid. His life of 93 years is one long illustration of the way in which the Finite struggles to shatter all trammels of finitude and merges itself in the Infinite and lives for the Lord alone. The *summum bonum* of his life is neatly epitomised in the verse which he very often recited:

مقصود من بندہ ز کونین توئی
از بہر تو میروم از برای تو زیم

(In both the worlds Thou alone art the Object that I cherish; I die for Thee and I live for Thee.)

This dedication opened his soul to what Carlyle calls 'the Divine Significance of Life'.⁴ He threw himself in line with the Divine Purpose

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Maḥāshikh-i-Chishtī*, published by the Nadwat-u'l-Muḥannifin, Delhi, 1953.

² *Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*, p. 34.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 112.

⁴ *On Heroes & Heroworship*, Oxford Press 1912, p. 116.

and allowed the spirit of the Highest and the Best to have complete dominion over him. In his old age he used to say: "For forty years Mas'ūd did as God wished him to do, now what he wishes is one."¹

Shaiikh Farīd's God was neither a theological myth nor a logical abstraction of unity, but an all-embracing personality present in his ethical, intellectual and aesthetic experience and furnishing the inspiration for creating an ideal realm of values—the kingdom of heaven—in a distressed and struggling world.² Living upto the highest ideal of devotion in Islam,³ he felt as if he was always in His presence,⁴ and while offering his prayer he seemed to be communicating with the Infinite and the Eternal.⁵ This consciousness of the Divine presence around him was the guide and motive of his active waking life and gave it a transcendent worth. He strove to understand Him in His dynamic relation to this finite world. This mystic belief in God had a value in terms of human life. It made him a citizen of that universal society in which God is the Supreme Intelligence and all human beings His manifestations. Besides, this belief gave to his frail human reed its unshakable strength, breadth of vision and independence of spirit.

Bābā Farīd's prayer was not a mechanical or lifeless formality. It was a mature activity of a heart overflowing with cosmic emotion. When he prayed he linked himself with that inexhaustible motive power that spins the universe. "People say," Shaiikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil asked his brother one day, "when you pray, you hear God saying: I am present my 'Abd (Creature). Is it so?" It would have been pedantic to say 'yes' to this query and so he evaded the reply.⁶

Bābā Farīd believed that His existence could be felt only through proper cultivation of emotions. Intellect could, at best, give him an abstract concept of God. His emotions gave him the God of his worship—a living reality surrounding him. In the development of cosmic emotion and a spirit of love and concern for the well-being of others, he found the way to His realization. He would bless every visitor with the words: "May God give you *dard*", and as Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya has explained, by *dard* the saint meant an eye full of tears and a heart full of emotions.⁷ It is difficult to imagine the condition

¹ *Khair-u'l-Majūlis*, p. 182.

² See *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 558-559. Also *Tārīkh-i-Mashāikh-i-Chishtī*, pp. 46-54.

³ The Prophet is reported to have said :

الاحسان ان تعبد الله كأنك تراه فان لم تكن تراه فانه يراك

"*Ahsān* means that you pray God as if you are seeing Him, or if you are not seeing Him, He is seeing you."

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 203.

⁵ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 121.

⁶ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 121.

⁷ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 132.

of his own heart. His external appearance—firm, composed and unruffled—never betrayed the storms that raged within him. But one day when a dear disciple, Muḥammad Shāh, came to him, excited, worried and trembling, he could not help stating his own condition. "Why do you look so unhappy?" enquired the Shaiḳh. "My brother is ill", replied Muḥammad Shāh, "He may have died since I left him." "Muḥammad Shāh!", said Shaiḳh Farīd, "As you are at this moment, I have been like that all my life, but I have never expressed it to anyone."¹

Bābā Farīd's mystic songs were, in fact, intended to break the strain on his emotions, to quicken his emotional response,² and to attune his heart to the Infinite and the Eternal. Sometimes he would himself recite couplets and supply fuel to his burning emotions. One day he recited the following couplet of the famous mystic poet Nizāmī :

نظا می انچه اسرار است کز خاطر عیان کردی
کسی سرش نمی داند زبان درکش زبان درکش

and found such emotional pleasure that he went on reciting it throughout the day, late into the night and in the small hours of the morning, and every time that he recited it, its effect on his emotions was reflected in the rapidly changing expressions on his face.³ Sometimes he would close himself in his small room, walk up and down, lay his head in *sijdah* and pathetically recite verses.⁴ One day there was none to recite songs. He asked Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq to bring his bag (*khariṭah*) of letters and recite the letter of Qāḍī Ḥamid-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī. Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn stood up and began to read the letter. He had hardly finished the introductory lines that the Shaiḳh's heart began to overflow with emotions and he found in the Qāḍī's letter the inspiration of a mystic song.⁵

The Chishtī mystics believed that spiritual progress was incompatible with the life of *shughl*⁶ and possession of power and property. All these things distracted emotions and stunted the growth of spiritual personality. Bābā Farīd always kept away from politics and advised his disciples to eschew *shughl* and *jāgirdārī*. He used to say :

گر وصال شاه می داری طمع
از وصال خویشتن مہجور باش

(If you long for meeting the King, give up hope of gnosis).

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 232.

² 'مما ع'—*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 246.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 101.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 203.

⁵ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 150.

⁶ In medieval literature the term *shughl* is almost invariably used for government service.

Bābā Farid's position in the history of the Chishtī *Silsilah* is unique. Disciple of a great saint, he was the teacher of a still greater saint. His association with Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī on one hand and Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya on the other, gives him a pre-eminent place in the history of the Chishtī *Silsilah*. If Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī introduced the *silsilah* in India and Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī popularised it in Delhi and her neighbourhood, it was through the efforts of Bābā Farid that the organization struck roots into the soil and spread far and wide. His piety, devotion and spiritual excellence attracted seekers after truth from distant parts of India as well as from lands beyond. Very rightly does 'Isāmī call him "the ruler of the realm of spiritual discipline (*Shāh-i-Mulk-i-Sulūk*)."¹

Writing the biography of a medieval saint may be a tempting task, but it is fraught with difficulties. The main difficulty arises out of the nature of the source material. As years roll on, the real and human figure of a saint gets obscured by the legend and fiction which grows round him. These legendary stories may reveal the working of the mind of the people amongst whom they were current, but they do not help us, in the least, in understanding the saint himself or in interpreting his teachings properly. To remove these crusts is, therefore, the first and, by far, the most difficult duty of any biographer.

Our earliest and the best source of information for the life of Bābā Farid are the scattered stories and references found in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, the Conversations of Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya compiled by Amīr Hasan Sijzi.² As a devoted disciple of Bābā Farid, Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya refers to him again and again.

Next to the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* comes the *Khair-u'l-Majālis*,³ Conversations of Shāikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehli,⁴ compiled by Ḥamid Qalandar. Shāikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn's source of information was his master

¹ *Futuh-u's-Salāṭīn*, (Madras Edition) page 8.

² Amīr Hasan 'Alā-i-Sijzi (ob. 736 A.H./1335 A.D.) was a distinguished disciple of Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. He was a fast friend of Amīr Khusrāw and Diā-u'd-dīn Baranī. He was a gifted poet (*Diwān*, edited by Mas'ūd 'Alī Maḥwī, Ibrāhīmiah Machine Press, Hyderabad). Baranī says that he was called *Sa'dī of Hindustan* (*Tārīkh-i-Firūz-Shāhi* p. 360). The most famous work of Amīr Hasan is the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*. A small brochure on '*Ishq* (Love) named *Mukh-u'l-Ma'ānī* is also available in the Muslim University Library, Aligarh. For his life, see Introduction to his *Diwān*; *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns* p. 398-99; *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 100-102.

³ *Khair-u'l-Majālis* has been edited by me and is being published by the Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh.

⁴ Shāikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd Chirāgh-i-Dehli (ob. 757 A.H./1356 A.D.) was an eminent disciple and successor (*Khalīfah*) of Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. Originally a native of Awadh, he settled in Delhi at the order of his master and devoted his life to the propagation of the Chishtī mystic principles. He was one of those great Chishtī saints who opposed Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq's policy of forcing the saints to take up government service. For his life see Professor Mohd. Nabil's excellent article "*Shāikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehli as a great historical personality*", *Islamic Culture* Vol. XX/2 April, 1946, pp. 129-153.

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, who was always ready to narrate some stories about his master to his disciples in order to bring home to them the principles of the Chishtī Silsilah.

The *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*¹ of Sayyid Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, known as Amīr Khurd, a disciple of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, is another very reliable and important source of information for the life of Bābā Farid. It was written in 752-90 A.H./1351-88 A.D. Amīr Khurd belonged to a family which had been in close contact with Bābā Farid. His grandfather, Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī, disciple of Bābā Farid, had lived with the saint for 18 years and was in charge of the domestic duties of the Shaikh's household.² Amīr Khurd's father, Sayyid Nūr-u'd-dīn Mubārak, was also a disciple of Bābā Farid.³ Amīr Khurd has given in his book whatever he heard from his ancestors or his spiritual master.

Besides these three works, which are our main authorities, there are a number of *tadhkirahs* (biographies of saints) compiled in later centuries. Of this literature, the *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*⁴ of Maulānā Hāmid bin Faḍl-u'llah known as Jamālī,⁵ is the most important. The author had travelled widely in Muslim lands—Ḥeḥāz, Yemen, Palestine, Rūm, Syria, Irāq, Adherbaijān, Gilān, Khurāsān etc.⁶ and had made independent enquiries about some of the saints mentioned in his book.

The 17th century developed great interest in the lives of the medieval saints and a number of *tadhkirahs* appeared. In this literature Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi's *Akhhār-ul-Akhyār*⁷ is decidedly the best. As a trained Muḥaddith (scholar of the Traditions of the Prophet) the Shaikh has carefully applied the *Uṣul-i-Isnād* (Critique of Evidence) to his study of medieval saints. He has critically

¹ Published by Chirangī Lāl, Dehlī, 1302 A.H./1885 A.D.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 208-210.

³ Ibid p. 210.

⁴ Printed at the Ridwī Press, Delhi 1311 A.H./1893 A.D.

⁵ Maulānā Hāmid bin Faḍl-u'llah, popularly known as Darwesh Jamālī (ob. 942 A.H./1536 A.D.) was a mystic of the Suhrawardī order. He was a disciple of Shaikh Samā'u'd-dīn (ob. 901 A.H./1496 A.D.). He flourished in Dehlī from the time of Sultān Bahlul Lodī to the reign of Humāyūn. He accompanied Humāyūn on his expedition to Gujrāt where he died in 942 A.H. He was buried in Dehlī, at a short distance south east of the Qutb Minār. Shaikh Gadā'i, who occupied the office of Ṣadr-u's-Ṣudūr during the regency of Bairām Khan, was his son. For biographical notices see *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār* p. 221-2; *Muntakhab-u'l-Tawārikh* iii p. 76; *Oriental College Magazine* x/1 H. 147-59 and xi/1 p. 76 et seq.

⁶ *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 3.

⁷ Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi (958-1052 A.H./1551-1641 A.D.) was an eminent scholar and traditionist of the Mughal period. For more than half a century his seminary at Dehlī was the centre of religious learning in India. He popularised the study of the traditions of the Prophet in Northern India. He is the author of more than one hundred big and small works. For his life and works see K.A. Nizāmī: *Hayāt-i-Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith-i-Dehlī*, published by the *Nadwat-u'l-Muḥannifin*, Dehlī, 1953.

examined the material and has drawn as accurate a picture of the saints and scholars of medieval India as is possible.¹

Though not so accurate as the *Akhhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, the *Gulzār-i-Abrār*² is, never-the-less, a valuable work on the Indo-Muslim saints. Muḥammad Ghauthi Shattāri (born in 962 A.H./1554 A.D.) was a pupil of Sayyid Wajih-u'd-din 'Alawī³ (ob. 998 A.H./1589 A.D.). His work, compiled between 1014-1022 A.H./1605-1613 A.D. is particularly helpful with regard to the descendants of Bābā Farid in the South.

Besides, we also have the following *tadhkirahs* :

- i) *Akhhbār-u'l-Aṣfiyā* by 'Abdus Ṣamad bin Afdāl Muḥammad.
- ii) *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār* by Maulānā 'Abd-u'r Raḥmān Chishtī.
- iii) *Majma'-u'l-Auliyā* by Mir 'Alī Akbar Ḥusāini Ardistanī.
- iv) *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb* by Allah Diyah Chishtī.
- v) *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* by 'Alī Aṣghar Chishtī.
- vi) *Safīnat-u'l-Auliyā* by Dārā Shikoh.
- vii) *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat* by Ghulām Mu'in-u'd-din.
- viii) *Maṭlūb-uṭ Ṭalībīn* by Muḥammad Bulāq Chishtī.
- ix) *Raudah-i-Aqtāb* by Muḥammad Bulāq Chishtī.
- x) *Iqtibās-u'l-Anwār* by Muḥammad Akram.
- xi) *Shajrat-u'l-Anwār* by Maulānā Raḥim Bakhsh Fakhri.

'Abdus Ṣamad was a nephew of Abū'l Faḍl. He completed his book *Akhhbār-u'l-Aṣfiyā* in 1014 A.H./1605-6. A.D. It has not been published so far.⁴ The *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār* was completed in 1065 A.H./1654 A.D. It contains biographical notes on all Muslim saints, Indian and foreign. Maulānā 'Abd-u'r Raḥmān's⁵ account of Bābā Farid, his sons and disciples, is detailed but at some places uncritical. The work has not been published.⁶ The *Majma'-u'l-Auliyā*, compiled in

¹ See *Ḥayāt-i-'Abd-u'l-Haqq* p. 200-204.

² Persian text has not been published so far. MSS in the Libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (dated 1155 A.H./1742-43 A.D.), Lindensiana (dated 1078 A.H./1667-8), Āṣafiyah and Habibjang. An Urdu translation was published from Agra in 1326 A.H.

³ Sayyid Wajih-u'd-din 'Alawī was a distinguished scholar of his age. He started his *madrasah* at the age of 20 and taught scholars for 66 years in that seminary. His pupils were drawn from different parts of the country. Jahāngir speaks very highly about him in his *Tuzuk*, p. 211.

⁴ MSS in Peshawar (dated 1089 A.H./1678-9), India Office (dated 1089-9 A.H./1687-8 A.D.) and Bankipur Libraries.

⁵ Maulānā 'Abd-u'r Raḥmān was a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Rudaulwī (ob. 836 A.H./1434 A.D.) and succeeded in 1032/1622 A.D. to the headship of a local branch of the Chishtī Silsilah at Rudaulī. He is the author of a number of books. Among them *Mirāt-u'l-Makhluqāt*, *Mirāt-u'l-Haqāiq*, *Nafas-i-Raḥmānī*, *Aurād-i-Chishtiyah*, *Mir'at-i-Madārī* and *Mirāt-i-Mas'ūdī* deserve to be noted. He was a good scholar of Sanskrit and the first two of the above mentioned books are based on Hindu mythological works. He died in 1094 A.H./1683 A.D.

⁶ MSS in the libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (dated 1088 A.H./1677-8 A.D.), Bankipur (dated 1220 A.H./1806 A.D.), Āṣafiyah (dated 1309 A.H./1891-2) and the British Museum (dated 1189 A.H./1775 A.D.) I have used my personal MS which contains no date.

1043 A.H./1633-34 A.D. was dedicated to Shāh Jahān (1037-1068 A.H./1628-1658 A.D.). It has not been published as yet. An autograph copy is available in the India Office Library.

The *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb* of Allah Diyah¹ was completed in 1056 A.H./1646 A.D. It has been published several times from Lucknow.² The *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* completed in 1033 A.H./1623 A.D., contains detailed but mostly uncritical and unreliable account of Bābā Farid and his descendants. 'Alī Aṣḡhar says that he wrote his book "to elucidate the complex genealogical relations of the descendants of Sh. Farīd-al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, who were so numerous that he had been surnamed Adam-i-Thānī and many in posters had been able to claim privileges to which they were not entitled."³ The fact, however, remains that the *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* has added to, rather than removed, the confusion. It was published from Lahore in 1301 A.H. An Urdu translation is also available.⁴ The *Safinat-u'l-Auliya* completed in 1049 A.H./1640 A.D. contains very brief notices of Muslim saints. It was published from Agra in 1269 A.H./1853 A.D. An Arabic version by Shaiḡh Ja'far Ṣādiq of Gujrat (1064 A.H./1653 A.D.) is also available in manuscript. The *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat* is a detailed encyclopaedia of Indo-Muslim saints. A very valuable MS of this work is in possession of the writer of these lines. It was completed in 1094 A.H./1682 A.D. and covers about two thousand pages. Its accounts are detailed and within certain limits very critical. What increases its value most is the fact that the author has given extensive extracts from the writings of the saints and scholars discussed by him. The account of Bābā Farid alone runs over 20 folios, while that of his disciples covers 26 folios.

The *Matlūb-u't-Talībīn* and the *Rauḡah-i-Aqtāb* are works of Muḥammad Bulāq who claims to be a descendant of Shaiḡh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya's sister. The first book is a detailed biography of Shaiḡh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, his elder saints and their disciples. It was compiled in 1111 A.H./1699 A.D. It has not been published so far.⁵ The *Rauḡah-i-Aqtāb*⁶ deals mainly with Khawja Quṭb-u'd-dīn

¹ Allah Diyah Chishtī, a descendant of Shaiḡh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Pānīpatī, was a disciple of Shāh A'la Pānīpatī. He lived in Kairanah, near Pānīpat. His grandfather Shaiḡh Binā was a noted surgeon of Akbar's time. His uncle Muqarrab Khān, Jahāngīr's surgeon and friend, was governor of Gujrat, Bihār and Agra in Jahāngīr's reign and was given the *pargana* of Kairanah as a *jāgīr*. Allah Diyah and his two brothers took part in Shāh Jahān's march towards Kābul. Storey, *Persian Literature*, p. 1003.

² Newal Kishore, Lucknow 1877, 1881, 1889, 1913.

³ Storey: *Persian Literature* p. 986.

⁴ Printed at the Karīmī Press, Lahore. I have used a MS in my personal collection. It has been very carefully collated with other MSS by Diwān Allah Jawāyā Ṣhīb, a *Sajjādah-nashīn* of Bābā Farid's Dargah.

⁵ MSS in India Office and Muslim University Aligarh Libraries. I have used my personal copy.

⁶ Printed at the Muḥib-i-Hind Press, Dehlī 1887 A.D.

Bakhtiyār Kākī, but gives brief notices of other eminent Chishtī saints also. The *Iq̣tibās-u'l-Anwār* of Muḥammad Akram was completed in 1142 A.H./1729 A.D. It was published from Lahore in 1895. The *Shajrat-u'l-Anwār*¹ contains biographical notices of the Chishtī saints of India. The author was a disciple of Shāh Fakhr-u'd-dīn (ob. 1199 A.H./1784 A.D.). Among still later works reference may be made to the *Khazīnat-u'l-Aṣfiyā* of Maulānā Ghulām Sarwar Lāhorī, the *Anwār-u'l-'Aīfīn*² of Ḥāfiz Muḥammad Ḥusain Moradābādī and the *Manāqib-u'l-Maḥbūbīn*³ of Maulānā Najm-u'd-dīn.

These works were compiled when legends were rapidly growing round these saints. However, this later literature has been utilised by me great care and only after considerable scrutiny. Their mistakes have been pointed out and their exaggerations have been noted wherever necessary.

In the middle ages a literary convention of incorporating accounts of the saints in political works somehow developed and became very popular. But Minhāj-u's-Sirāj, the author of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*,⁴ who was a contemporary of Bābā Farīd does not refer to the saints at all. Muḥammad Ghauthī records his disapproval of Minhāj's omission. Dīā-u'd-dīn Baranī refers to Bābā Farīd but in a casual way.⁵ Later histories, like the *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*⁶ of Muḥammad Bihāmid Khān, compiled in 842 A.H./1438-39 A.D., the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*,⁷ *Firishlah*⁸, the *Khulāsat-u'l-Tawārīkh*⁹ and others give some notices of Bābā Farīd. All these works have been used in preparation of this life-sketch of Bābā Farīd. Detailed bibliography appears in Appendix F.

¹ It has not been published so far. My MS was copied in 1281 A.H.

² Published by Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1876.

³ Printed at Thamar-i-Hind Press, Lucknow, 1873 A.D.

⁴ Edited by Nassau Lees & others. Bib. Indica Calcutta 1864; another edition by A. Chaghtāi, Lahore 1952. English Translation by H. C. Raverty, Bib. Indica Calcutta, 1897.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, (edited by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Bib. Indica Calcutta 1862), p. 112.

⁶ MS. in British Museum (Or. 137). ff 144-146. Rotograph in Rewa College Library.

⁷ Edited by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān.

⁸ Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

⁹ Edited by K. B. Zafar Hasan, printed at J and Sons Press, Delhi, 1918.

CHAPTER I

Birth, Parentage and Ancestry

The 12th century of the Christian era was a period of stress and storm in 'Ajām. Powerful Turkish tribes were constantly pressing westwards in search of more living space (*lebensraum*). They established kingdoms and on pressure from the east moved further west. Every tribal movement was followed by a vast shifting of the population. Numerous ruling dynasties thus came to grief and many a prince left his home to hide his head in safer climes. Among the many unhappy people whom this terrible population-pressure uprooted from their homelands was one Qāḍī Shu'aib.¹ He left Kābul² and reached Lahore with his "three sons, followers, army and family",³ probably owing to the Ghuzz invasion (552 A.H./1157 A.D.).⁴

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 59; *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p. 163; *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār* (MS.) p. 542; *Ma'arij-u'l-Walāyat* (MS.) Vol. I, p. 49. Jamālī (*Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 31, and, following him, *Firishṭah* (Vol. II, p. 383) say that Jamāl-u'd-dīn Sulaimān was the first of the ancestors of Bābā Farīd to enter India.

² The author of *Maṭlūb-u'l-Talībīn* says that he came from Ghaznīn (f.98a).

³ Amir Khurd further says that Qāḍī Shu'aib's father was murdered by Chengiz Khān and it was under the pressure of the Mongols that Qāḍī Shu'aib had to leave his home. This does not appear to be correct. Qāḍī Shu'aib came to India before 1175 A.D. more than forty years before the Mongols occupied these territories. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 59. See also, *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār*, MS.; *Ma'arij-u'l-Walāyat*, MS. The author of *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* makes the curious statement:

پدر بزرگوار او جمال الدین سلیمان از طرف کابل در عهد سلطان شهاب الدین غوری خواهرزاده سلطان محمود غزنوی در طرف ملتان آمده بود
(His revered father Jamāl-u'd-dīn Sulaimān had come from Kābul, to the side of Multān during the reign of Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn Ghurī, who was the son of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī's sister.)

The *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* says:

پدر بزرگوار آنحضرت خواهرزاده سلطان محمود غزنوی است

p. 163.

(The revered father of the saint was the son of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī's sister). *Firishṭah*, with a better historical insight simplified it:

پدر... در عهد سلطان شهاب الدین غوری از کابل به ملتان آمده

Vol. II, p. 383.

(His father came to Multān from Kābul during the reign of Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn Ghurī.)

⁴ The migration of the Ghuzz to Muslim territory began towards the end of the 10th century. (See Barthold's article in *The Ency. of Islam* II, pp. 168-169). In 548 A.H./1153 A.D. the Ghuzz tribes rose against Sultān Sanjar, took him prisoner and devastated Khurāsān and several other provinces. In 552 A.H./1157 A.D. they attacked Ghaznīn. Minhāj writers: "A horde of the tribe of Ghuzz, who had acquired dominion and power in Khurāsān, in the reign of the august Sultān Sanjar, marched an army against Ghaznī. Khusrāu Shāh was unable to resist them, and he accordingly retired into Hindustan, and Ghaznīn was lost to them, and fell into the hand of the Ghuzz. They retained possession of that territory for a period of twelve years." (Raverty, pp. 111-112.)

It seems that the ancestors of Bābā Farīd came to India under the pressure of this Ghuzz irruption during the reign of Khusrāu Shāh (ob. 559 A.H./1163 A.D.).

Captain Wade places their arrival earlier. He says: "The ancestors of Shekh Farīd-U'-dīn first came to Multān in the train of Behram Shah of the Ghaznavi family." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, March 1837, pp. 192-193).

Qāḍī Shu'aib, however, did not find the gay atmosphere of Lahore congenial and moved to Qasūr.¹ The Qāḍī² of the place received him cordially and informed the Sultān about the circumstances under which the members of this distinguished family had to leave their homes and seek refuge in the Ghaznavid kingdom of Lahore. In a very sympathetic and polite message the Sultān asked him as to what service he could render them. Qāḍī Shu'aib, who had had enough of worldly glory, replied that he did not want any worldly office or rank. "We do not want to run after a thing which has been lost to us,"³ said Qāḍī Shu'aib with mystic indifference. Nevertheless the Sultān⁴ entrusted to them the Qāḍiship of Kahtwāl.⁵ Qāḍī Shu'aib left Qasūr and settled at Kahtwāl.

One of the Qāḍī Shu'aib's three sons was named Jamāl-u'd-dīn-Sulaimān.⁶ He married in Kahtwāl a daughter of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-dīn Khojendi,⁷ Qarsum Bibi by name. Farīd-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd was born sometime in 571 A.H./1175 A.D.⁸ He was the second of the three sons of Jamāl-u'd-dīn—the eldest being 'Izz-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd,⁹ and the youngest Najīb-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Mutawakkil.

According to Amīr Khurd, Qāḍī Shu'aib belonged to a ruling family of Kābul which had attained to greatest power under a king named

¹ Qasūr is 34 miles south-east of Lahore, and is a place of great antiquity. General Cunningham identified it with one of the places visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century. *Imperial Gazetteer*, II, 'p. 29.

² The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* writes that in his sense of justice, impartiality and gentlemanly behaviour the Qāḍī of Qasūr was the pride of the qāḍīs of the age. (p. 59).

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 59.

⁴ The author of *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayat* makes a mistake when he writes :

پس خلیفہ دہلی قضا قصبہ کہنیوال تفویض نمود

(MS. Vol. I p. 50.)

Dehli had not yet been conquered. This appointment was made by the Ghaznawid ruler of Lahore.

⁵ Kahtwāl was a town in the district of Multān between Mahārān and Ajodhan. To-day it is a small village known as Maḥaiḥ-ki-Chāwālī. (See, "*Journal of Captain C. M. Wade's voyage*," in *J.A.S.B.*, March 1837, p. 193—"Chawē Mushaiḥ, a village on the banks of the Satlej.")

Kahtwāl is differently spelt in different works. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* gives Kahtwāl on p. 59 and Kahtwala on p. 62. *Khair-u'l-Majālis* (p. 219) has Kothiwal. The printed text of *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* (p. 32) has Khuluwāl; the MS. (p. 46) gives Kothiwal. *Gulzar-i-Abrār* has Kotwal (MS.). *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār* (MS. p. 542) has Khatwala. *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, (p. 163) has Khaniwal and so on.

⁶ Nothing is known about Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn except that he was appointed Qāḍī of Kahtwāl after the death of his father, and was buried in Kahtwāl. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 32; *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayat*, (MS.).

⁷ *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 32; *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār*, (MS.) pp. 542-43; *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* p. 164; *Rawḍah-i-Aqṭāb*, p. 58. No later or contemporary writer gives any information about Shaikh Wajih-u'd-dīn Khojendi.

⁸ There is some difference of opinion about his date of birth. The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* says that he was born in 569 A.H. and that he attained the age of 95 years (p. 91). It appears from *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* that he lived for 93 years (p. 53). If we calculate on the basis of *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, the date of his birth would be 571 A.H. and not 569 A.H. as given by *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*. I have preferred *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* to *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*.

⁹ The printed text of *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* (p. 32) wrongly gives his name as 'Izz-u'd-dīn Muḥammad.

Farrukh Shāh. When the Ghaznawid power rose Kābul was annexed by the Ghaznawids and the descendants of Farrukh Shāh were reduced to the position of ordinary citizens. History does not throw any light on this Farrukh Shāh. His status and position consequently remain a myth.¹

Muḥammad Ghauthī has traced the descent of Bābā Farīd from the Caliph 'Umar.² The author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb* gives the following genealogical table :

Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar

bin Shaikh Sulaimān

bin Shaikh Shu'aib

bin Shaikh Muḥammad Aḥmad

bin Shaikh Yusuf

bin Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn known as Farrukh Shāh Kābuli

bin Fakhr-u'd-dīn Maḥmud

bin Sulaimān

bin Shaikh Mas'ūd

bin Shaikh 'Abd-u'llah Wā'iz-a'l-Aṣghar

bin Wā'iz-a'l-Akbar Abu'l Faṭḥ

bin Shaikh Ishāq

bin Shaikh Nāṣir

bin Shaikh 'Abd-u'llah

bin Amīr-u'l-Muminin 'Umār Fārūq.³

When Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd saw the light of the day, the Ghaznawid Empire of Lahore was fast declining. Khusrav Malik, the last of the Ghaznawids, utterly unfitted to shoulder the burden of the State, had, according to Minhāj "abandoned himself wholly to pleasure

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 58-59. All subsequent writers, following *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, speak of Farrukh Shāh as the king of Kābul, while in the *Zubdat-u'l-Maḳāmāt* (Newal Kishore Press, 1307 A.H.) he is spoken of as a nobleman and a wazīr of the Sultāns of Kābul (p. 88).

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī, popularly known as Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī (ob. 1034 A.H./1624 A.D.) also traced his descent from Farrukh Shāh. *Zubdat-u'l-Maḳāmāt*, p. 88.

² *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, (MS.).

Long ago a small brochure was published by the late Pīr Sayyid Rashīd Aḥmad Rizwī Shāh under the title *A'lān-i-Sayyadat-i-Farīdī* (Rizwī Press, Amroha, 1332 A.H.) in which an attempt was made to prove that Bābā Farīd was a Sayyid. His arguments have not been generally accepted.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb*, p. 163.

Genealogical tables as given by subsequent writers differ from one another. Cf. *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* (MS.); *Khazīnat-u'l-Asfiyā*, Vol. I., p. 287, and others. However, the tradition of Bābā Farīd being a Fārūqī is so convincing that no discussion is necessary. The present writer is in possession of very interesting discussions and *fatwas* on this subject. The controversy was started by the author of *A'lān-i-Sayyadat-i-Farīdī*.

while the servants of the state and governors of the country exercised independent power".¹

Shihāb-u'd-dīn, who had been appointed governor of Ghaznī in 569 A.H.² by his brother Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn began his encroachments on the Ghaznawid ruler's territories. He marched towards Multān in 571 A.H. and delivered it from the hands of the Carmathians.³ A few years later he attacked Lahore, but "the affairs of the Mahmūdī empire had now approached their termination, and the administration of that government had grown weak, Khusrau Malik, by way of compromise, despatched one of his sons, and one elephant, to the presence of the Sultān-i-Ghazī".⁴ Shihāb-u'd-dīn Ghurī occupied Sialkot in 581 A.H./1185 A.D. and a year later dislodged the Ghaznawids from the Punjāb. Khusraw Malik was taken prisoner and sent to the castle of Balarwan in Gharjistān, where he was put to death in 588 A.H./1192 A.D.

Though the political power of the Ghaznawids declined and they were ultimately displaced by the more virile Ghurids, their occupation of the Punjāb had changed the entire pattern of social life in that region. Eminent saints, poets, scholars and administrators had migrated to Lahore from distant parts of the Muslim world. Shaikh Husain Zanjānī,⁵ Shaikh 'Alī Hujwīrī,⁶ Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān,⁷ Albairunī,⁸ Abu'l Farj Rūnī,⁹ Sultān Sakhī Sarwar¹⁰ and others made deep and far-reaching contributions to the religious and cultural life of the region. The Punjāb became a half-way house between the Central Asian Muslim lands on one side and the flourishing Rājput kingdoms on the other. From the Punjāb the Muslims filtered into the Gangetic valley and

¹ *Tabāqāt-i-Nasirī*, p. 26.

² Raverty, p. 449.

³ Ibid, p. 449.

⁴ Ibid, p. 452.

⁵ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 35.

⁶ Shaikh 'Alī Hujwīrī, popularly known as Dātā Ganj Bakhsh (ob. after 1074 A.D.) came from Ghaznī and settled in Lāhore where he wrote his famous book *Kashf-u'l-Mahjūb* (Persian text published from Gulzār-i-Hind Steam Press Lāhore; English translation by R. A. Nicholson, London 1936).

⁷ Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān (ob. 1121) was a notable poet of the Ghaznawid period. Amīr Khusraw informs us in his preface to the *Ghurra't-u'l-Kamāl* that Mas'ūd had left three *diwāns*—in Arabic, Persian and Hindi.

⁸ Abu Raihān Albairunī (973-1048) came to India during the reign of Sultān Mahmūd. He taught here the Greek sciences and in exchange made himself acquainted with the achievements of Hindu learning. The results of these studies he used for his great work *Kitāb-u'l-Hind*. See, Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* (Second edition 1953), Supplement p. 777-779.

⁹ Abu'l Farj Rūnī was an eminent poet of the later Ghaznawid period. He was born and educated in Lāhore (Rūn was a village in the Lahore district). Several poems of his *diwān* are addressed to Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī (1059-1099) and Mas'ūd bin Ibrāhīm (1099-1114).

¹⁰ Sultān Sakhī Sarwar was an eminent saint of Lāhore. He was held in high esteem by the Hindus. A Hindu tribe of the Punjāb is known after his name as *Sulṭānī*.

established small colonies at Ajmer,¹ Badā'ūn,² Qannauj,³ Bahrā'ich⁴ and other places.

¹ Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī settled at Ajmer before the conquest of Dehli. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 46.

² Maulānā Raḍī-u'd-dīn Hasan Ṣaghānī, the famous author of the *Mashāriq-u'l-Anwār* was born in Badā'ūn (*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 103) in 1181 A.D., six years after the birth of Bābā Farīd and ten years before the battle of Tarain.

³ See, R. S. Tripathi's *History of Qannauj*.

⁴ Sayyid Salār Mas'ūd Ghāzī's tomb belongs to the Ghaznawid period (*Baranī*, p. 491) and the fact that his grave survived through the centuries that intervene between the Ghaznawid invasions and the Ghurian occupation of Northern India shows the existence of a Muslim population which kept alive the story of Salār's martyrdom and handed it to posterity.

CHAPTER II

Childhood and Early Education

Bābā Farīd's first teacher whose influence was most lasting on him was his mother—Qarsum Bibī. It was she who kindled that spark of Divine Love in him which later dominated his entire being, and moulded his thought and action. Well has Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya remarked in this context: "A son is strongly influenced by the piety of his parents."¹

Qarsum Bibī was a lady of fervent piety.² She kept awake all through the night engaged in her prayers. Numerous anecdotes relating to her piety and devotion are found in mystic works. One night thieves entered her house but were so moved by a hallow of piety and saintliness which radiated from her face that they repented of their sins and vowed to lead an honest life thereafter.³

Under the care of so pious and saintly a mother Bābā Farīd developed from his very childhood a spirit of intense devotion to God. When still in his adolescent years he became known in Kahtwāl for his deeply mystic bent of mind.

While on his way to Dehli, the eminent mystic Shaiḫ Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrizī⁴ passed through Kahtwāl. He enquired from the people whether there was any mystic in the town. They replied in the negative but added that there was the Qāḍī's son, Farīd-u'd-dīn, who though commonly regarded as mad (*Qāḍī bachchah dīwānā*) was always busy in his devotions and prayers behind the city-mosque. Shaiḫ Jalāl-u'd-dīn went to see him. On the way some one presented a pomegranate to

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 121.

² *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 287-88; *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb*, p. 163-164; *Ma'arīj-u'l-Walāyat*, MS.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 121-22. In Jamālī's days the grave of this thief, who later became a saintly person was visited by people who sought his spiritual benedictions. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn*, p. 32; See also, *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb*, p. 164.

⁴ Shaiḫ Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrizī was an eminent disciple of Shaiḫ Abu Sa'īd Tabrizī. After the death of his master he associated himself with Shaiḫ Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī and followed him on his long and arduous mystic itineraries. He was a very close friend of Shaiḫ Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā and Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. When he reached Dehli, Ilutmiḡh gave him a hearty welcome and showed great respect to him. Najm-ud-dīn Ṣuḡra, the Shaiḫ-u'l-Islām of Dehli, grew jealous of his influence and, in order to disgrace him in the eyes of the Sultān, brought charges of adultery against him. These charges were proved to be utterly baseless, but Shaiḫ Jalāl left for Bengal in disgust and said: "When I came to this city (Dehli) I was pure gold, but at this moment I am silver". (*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 112) For his life see, *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn*, pp. 164-171; *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 43-44; *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām*, p. 25-26. *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS), *Ma'arīj-u'l-Walāyat* (MS). See also *Shekashubhodaya* (A Sanskrit work dealing with legends about the Shaiḫ), edited with English Introduction by Sukmar Sen, Calcutta.

him. Shaikh Jalāl took it as a present for Bābā Farid and, breaking it, offered it to him. Bābā Farid was fasting, and did not partake of it. When Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn had left, he found a pomegranate seed lying on the ground. He picked it up, tied it to his handkerchief (*ḍastārchah*) and ate it at the time of *iftār*. This single seed caused a sudden spiritual illumination within him. He deeply regretted why he had not accepted the whole of the fruit which would have given him more spiritual blessings, but later when Bābā Farid met Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār and expressed his regret at not having eaten the whole fruit, Shaikh Bakhtiyār remarked: "All the spiritual blessings was in that one seed; it was destined for you and it reached you. There was nothing in the rest of the fruit."¹

When young Farid was talking to the eminent visitor from Tabriz, his trouser (*sarāwīl*) was in shreds and he had continually to hide one hole or the other. Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn realized his anxiety and said: "There was a *darwesh* in Bukhārā who was busy in education. For seven years he had no trousers (*izār*) and wore only a loin-cloth (*fuṭah*). Do'n't be worried. See what happens."²

Though Bābā Farid had not, as yet, gone out of Kahtwāl, his reputation had travelled far and wide. Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā, the famous Suhrawardī saint of Multān, expressed his desire to see him at this time.³

IN MULTAN

After finishing his early education in Kahtwāl, Bābā Farid proceeded to Multān.⁴ He was then only 18 years of age. He joined the *madrasah* in the mosque of Maulānā Minhāj-u'd-dīn Tirmidhī, near the Sarā'i-Halwā'i. Here he committed to memory the entire text of the Qur'ān and began to recite it once in twenty four hours.⁵

One day Bābā Farid was reading *Nāfa'*—a book on Muslim Law. Khawāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī had come to Multān from Aush and was staying in that mosque. Bābā Farid's insight discerned in the visitor a spiritual teacher of infinite capabilities. Khawāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn busied himself in prayers soon after his arrival and Bābā Farid

¹ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 219-220; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 62-63, *Jawama'-u'l-Kilam*, p. 316. This remark of Khawāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī is responsible for the practice amongst the Chishtis to eat the entire pomegranate, lest the sacred seed be missed.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 62-63.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 60. It is remarked in some *tadhkirahs* [*Siyar-u'l-Aqṭab*, p. 176; *Jawāhar-i-Farīd* (MS.)] that the mothers of both these saints were real sisters. There is nothing in contemporary records to support this.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 60. Multān was, at that time, a great seat of Muslim learning. Amīr Khurd writes: "In those days Multān was the *Qubbat-u'l-Islām* and erudite scholars were present there" (p. 60). Later, Qubāchah's unbounded generosity raised it to a pre-eminent position in the literary centres of the age.

⁵ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 220; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 60-61; *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, pp. 36; *Gulzar-i-Abrār* (MS.); *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭab*, p. *Rauḍah-i-Aqṭab*, p. 58.

sat down near him with the book in his hand, eagerly waiting for the moment when the Shaiikh would finish his prayers. After his prayers, the Khawāja turned towards him and asked sympathetically: "Maulānā! What book is this?" "It is *Nāfa*," replied Bābā Farīd. "May there be *naf*" (benefit) for you in its study", said Khawāja Baḳhtiyār. "There is benefit for me in your mercy and blessings," submitted Bābā Farīd and then placed his head at the feet of the Khawāja and recited the following verses:¹

مقبول تو جز مقبل جاوید نشد .: وز لطف تو هیچ بنده نوسید نشد
عونت بکدام ذره پیوست دمی .: کان ذره به از هزار خورشید نشد

"He, who is approved by you, is approved eternally
And no one is disappointed of your blessing
Your mere attention to any particle, even for a while
Makes it better than a thousand suns."

Khawāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn was staying in the mosque when Shaiikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā arrived. The Suhrawardī saint did not like the stay of Khawāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn in Multān and considered it an undesirable intrusion into his own spiritual jurisdiction. The polite way of asking a saint to leave one's jurisdiction (*walāyat*) was to place his shoes in the direction one would like him to go. Shaiikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā did so and Khawāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Baḳhtiyār, taking the hint, left for Dehli.² Bābā Farīd accompanied him and was admitted into his discipleship at Dehli.³ Amīr Khurd says that eminent persons like Qāḍī Ḥamid-u'd-dīn Nāgaūrī,⁴ Maulānā 'Alā-u'd-dīn Kirmānī, Sayyid Nūr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī,⁵ Shaiikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Abu'l Muway-

¹ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 220.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 61. Maulānā Jamālī, himself a Suhrawardī, says that Qubachah had requested Khawāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn to settle permanently in Multān, but he refused with the remark: "This region has been placed under the spiritual protection of Shaiikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā and it will remain under him for ever." *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 20.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 61. The author of *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* however says that he was initiated in Multān. He accompanied his master upto three stages only. Then the Shaiikh asked him to go back to Multān with the remarks: "Bābā Farīd! Remain busy in external education along with this other worldliness and celibacy. Come to Dehli afterwards" (p. 36). Jamālī further adds that Bābā Farīd was only 18 years at this time.

⁴ Qāḍī Ḥamid-u'd-dīn was a disciple of Shaiikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī. He was a close friend and companion of Khawāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Baḳhtiyār Kākī. His erudition and learning raised him in the estimation of his contemporaries. His works were numerous, but few have survived. He was extremely fond of *Samā'* (audition parties) and it is said that it was he who popularised it in Dehli. For biographical references, see *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* p. 36-43; also *Futuḥ-u's-Salātin* p. 114.

⁵ Sayyid Nūr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī was another eminent saint of the Suhrawardī order. He was the disciple of Shaiikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī and was respected for his scholarship and learning. He established close personal contact with Ilutmiṣh and was appointed *Shaiikh-u'l-Islām* by him. The people of Dehli used to call him *Mīr-i-Dehli*. For brief biographical notices, see *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, Baranī, p. 41-44; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 28-29; *Gulzar-i-Abrār* (MS).

yid,¹ Maulānā Shams-u'd-dīn Turk and Khawāja Maḥmūd Mu'inah Dōz² were present at the time of *bay't* (initiation).³

According to the *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*,⁴ Bābā Farīd remained in Multān and completed his education as his master had instructed him. Jamālī further states that the Shaikh went to Qandhār for higher studies and stayed there for five years.⁵

¹ Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Abu'l Muwayyid was an eminent contemporary of Khawāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. His sermons were extremely effective and interesting. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā had, in his earlier days, seen him. Shaikh Jamāl who lies buried in Kol (Aligarh) was his descendant. See *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 45.

² Khawāja Maḥmūd Mu'inah Dōz was a disciple of Qāḍī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaūri. He used to spend most of his time in the Khānqah of Khawāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn. See *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 49.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*, p. 61.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, (p. 164) follows *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*. Allah Diyah says that the Shaikh continued to acquire knowledge in Multān for five years and then went to Dehlī to be admitted into the discipline of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 36. According to Muḥammad Ghauthī he went to Seistān also. (*Gulzār-i-Abrār* MS).

CHAPTER III

At the feet of Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki

Khwāja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyār Kākī¹ (ob. 633 A.H./1235 A.D.) at whose feet Bābā Farīd decided to lay his head was an outstanding mystic of his age. He was a native of Aush² which was a great centre of the Hallājis³ and was considerably influenced by the Wujūdī⁴ doctrines. The Khwāja received his early training from his mother. Later he learnt the Qur'ān with Maulānā Abu Ḥafṣ.⁵

After finishing his education at Aush, Khwāja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyār turned towards Baghdād which was at that time the cultural centre of Islam. Here the discourses of such eminent mystics as Shaiḫ 'Abd-u'l-Qādir Gilānī,⁶ Shaiḫ Shihāb-u'd-din Suhrawardī,⁷ Khwāja

¹ For his life, see, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* pp. 48-57; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 16-31; *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 24-26; *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS); *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār*, (MS); *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb*, pp. 142-161 and *Rawḍah-i-Aqtāb*, pp. 3-30.

² Aush is a town in Farghānah, south-east of Andijan. For Bābur's praise of the town, see *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* (King's Edition) Vol. I, p. 3. Prof. Louis Massignon wrote to me in a letter: "I have published from the Russian translation of Sidikov, a Qaraqyrapghy text in praise of Hallaj (= Mansur), in the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1946, 77-78, proving that Osh was a centre of the Mansuri Sufis."

³ A Sūfī order named after the famous Persian mystic Abu'l Mughith al-Husain bin Manṣūr al-Hallāj (244-309 A.H./858-922 A.D.). The doctrines of the Hallājīya order may be thus summarised:

a. in *Fiqh*, the five *farā'id*, even the Ḥajj may be replaced by other works (*isqāt-a'l-wasa'it*).

b. in *Kalām*, God's transcendence (*tanziḥ*) above the limits of creation (*tūl*, *arq*), the existence of an uncreated Divine spirit (*Rūh-i-Nāṭiqah*), which becomes united with the created *Rūh* (spirit) of the ascetic (*hulūl-a'l-lāhūt-fi'l-nāsūt*); the saint becomes the living and personal witness of God, whence the saying: *An-l-Ḥaqq* "I am creative Truth".

c. in *Tasawwuf*, perfect union with the divine will through desire of and submission to suffering.

⁴ The doctrine of *Wahdāt-u'l-Wujūd* means that God and the Universe are not two separate entities, but form one unity. Existent is one. This soon becomes Identityism—that it is identical with everything else, which in the end passes on to pantheism,—that it is God and God is all. Shaiḫ Muḥi-u'd-din Ibn-i-'Arābī (ob. 638 A.H./1240 A.D.) was its powerful exponent and the *Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī* (ob. 1034 A.H./1624 A.D.) was its firm opponent. For details, see Dr. Burhān Aḥmad Farūqī's *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tauḥīd*, (published by Shaiḫ Muḥammad Ashraf, Lahore).

⁵ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 108.

⁶ Shaiḫ 'Abd-u'l-Qādir Gilānī (1077-1166 A.D.) was the founder of the Qādirī order of mystics. He was an erudite scholar, with a keen intuition and a clear and unerring judgement. His sermons had a magical effect on the audience. In these sermons, "he figures as an earnest, sincere and eloquent preacher" (Margoliouth). The following collections of his sermons are very well known: *Futuh-u'l-Ghaib* (Cairo, 1304), *Al-faiḥ-u'r-Rabbānī* (1302). His biographical details may be read in Shaṭṭanawī's *Bahjat-u'l-Asrār* (Cairo, 1304), and Dhahabī's *Tārīkh-i-Islām* (published in *J.R.A.S.*, 1907) p. 267 at seq.

⁷ Shaiḫ Shihāb-u'd-din Suhrawardī, (1145-1234 A.D.) was an eminent saint of the Suhrawardī order. His best known works are the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif* and the *Kaḡh-u'l-Nasā'ih-u'l-imaniyah-wa-Kashf-u'l-Fada'ih-u'l-yunūniyah*. See also, *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns* pp. 307-308.

Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī,¹ Shaikh Aḥmad-u'd-dīn Kirmānī,² Qāḍī Ḥamid-u'd-dīn³ and others drew large audiences and exercised considerable influence on Muslim thought and ways. Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī met Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī in the mosque of Imām Abu Laith Samarqandī in Baghdād and was so deeply impressed by the spiritual greatness of the saint that he became his disciple.⁴

When Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī proceeded to India, Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn also followed him by a different route. He stayed in Multān for some time, and then left for Dehli. Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn's arrival in Dehli synchronizes with a very important phase in the history of India's great capital. To this city flocked eminent Muslim saints, divines and scholars from all sides and the enlightened and liberal patronage of Sulṭān Iltutmish offered them a safe haven of refuge.⁵ When Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī reached Dehli from Multān, Iltutmish heartily welcomed him and requested him to stay near his palace. The Khwāja having refused, Iltutmish made it a point to visit his Khānqah outside the city twice a week.⁶ Once the Khwāja thus advised the Sulṭān :

"O ruler of Dehli! It is incumbent on thee to be good to all poor people, mendicants, durweshes and helpless folk. Treat all men kindly and strive for their welfare. Every-one who thus behaves towards his subjects is looked after by the Almighty and all his enemies turn into friends⁷."

Iltutmish offered to him the post of *Shaikh-u'l-Islām*, but the saint declined to accept it.⁸ On his refusal Shaikh Najm-u'd-dīn Sughra was appointed to this post. A vain and conceited man, Sughra could not tolerate the presence of anybody more influential than himself at the court and so he maliciously and unscrupulously tried to run people down. He brought the charge of adultery against Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrizī.⁹ He was equally jealous of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn who was revered

¹ Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī, the famous founder of the Chishtī *Silsilah* in India. For his life, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 45-48; *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 4 et seq; *Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 22-24.

² Shaikh Aḥmad-u'd-dīn Ḥamid al-Kirmānī was an eminent disciple of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Albahrī and had associated with the great mystic Shaikh Muḥi-u'd-dīn Ibn-i-'Arabi who has referred to him in his famous work, *Futuḥāt-i-Mecciah*. For brief biographical notice, see *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns*, p. 385-387.

³ See note Supra.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 48.

⁵ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 166; *Futuḥ-u's-Salūṭin*, p. 109-110.

⁶ *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 21.

⁷ *Risālah-Ḥāl-Khānwadah-i-Chisht*, MS, f 17 b.

⁸ *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 21. Jamālī says that this offer was made after the death of Maulānā Jamāl-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Bustāmī (p. 21), but this does not seem to be correct. It appears from a perusal of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* (Raverty p. 702) that Maulānā Bustāmī survived Iltutmish and was appointed Shaikh-u'l-Islām by Sulṭān Nāsir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd in 653 in A.H.

⁹ *Siyar-u'l-Arifin* p. 167; *Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 43; *Gulzār-i-Abrūr* (MS).

by the Sultān and the people alike.¹ Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī who happened to be present in Dehlī, was bitterly incensed at this, and asked his disciple to leave Dehlī and accompany him to Amjer. The news of Shaiikh Qutb-u'd-dīn's departure deeply afflicted the public of Dehlī. When the Khwāja and his disciple set out for Ajmer, the people of Dehlī went in their wake for miles. Iltutmish himself followed the two saints. Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn was deeply touched when he found the ruler and the ruled equally grieved. He allowed Shaiikh Qutb-u'd-dīn to remain in Dehlī. Iltutmish was immensely pleased; he kissed the feet of Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn and brought Shaiikh Qutb-u'd-dīn back to the Capital.²

Bābā Farid continued to live with Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and under his inspired guidance traversed the difficult stages of the mystic path. The Khwāja assigned him a small cell in his Khānqah.³ Young Farid busied himself in devotions and prayers in that lonely corner. Shaiikh Qutb-u'd-dīn used to supervise his work with keen and sympathetic interest. While his other disciples visited him very frequently, Bābā Farid saw his master only twice a month.⁴

Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī happened to visit Dehlī again. When he saw⁵ Bābā Farid he remarked: "Bābā Bakhtiyār! You have caught a noble falcon which will not build his nest except on the holy tree of Heaven. Farid is a lamp that will illuminate the *Silsilah* of the *durweshes*."⁶ Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn then asked his disciple to bestow spiritual gifts and blessings on Bābā Farid, but Shaiikh

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 54.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 54-55; *Jawama'-u'l-Kilam*, p. 208.

³ The author of *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* writes: (p. 36).

"در نزدیک دروازه غربی برجیست در زیر آن برج حجره ساخته"

(There is a tower near the Western Gate. (He) constructed his *hujrah* under that tower).

The author of *Jawama'-u'l-Kilam* quotes Sayyid Muḥammad Gōsū Darāz who said that Bābā Farid had busied himself in penitences (p. 230).

"در مسجد دلی نزدیک دروازه منده"

(In Masjid-i-Dehlī, near the Mandah gate).

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 187; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 61. Allah Diyah, however, says that he used to visit his Shaiikh every week. (*Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb*, p. 164).

⁵ The author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb* develops the event thus: "When Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn Hasan Sijzi visited Dehlī, Qutb-u'l-Aqtāb presented his disciples to him and everyone received his blessings according to his merit. Later Sultān-u'l-'Arifin asked: "Bābā Qutb-u'd-dīn! Is there any other disciple of yours? Shaiikh Qutb-u'd-dīn replied," There is one Mas'ūd by name who is sitting in *Chillah*. Hadrat Sultān-u'l-'Arifin got up and said: "Come along and let us see him." Both the saints went to his cell and opened the door. Hadrat-i-Ganj-i-Shakar was so weak that he could not get up to pay his respects to the saints. Helplessly and with tears in his eyes he placed his head on the ground. When Sultān-u'l-'Arifin saw this he said: Qutb-u'd-dīn! How long will you burn this poor fellow in the fire of penitence." (pp. 165-166) The last sentence only occurs in *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, (p. 72).

⁶ *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 23.

Quṭb-u'd-dīn apologized that in the presence of his master he could not have the courage to bestow anything on him. Thereupon both the saints blessed Bābā Farīd. It was a unique honour in the history of the Chishtī Silsilah. No saint before him, or even after, was thus blessed by the master and the master of his master.¹

One day Bābā Farīd submitted to his master: "If the Shaikh permits me I will keep a *Chillah*."² "There is no need of it," replied Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn disapproving of the idea, "Such things lead to publicity. Our saints have not done anything like this." "It is known to the Shaikh's intuitive mind," submitted Bābā Farīd, "that fame is not my object."³ Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn did not press his point further. He advised his young disciple to perform *Chillah-i-Ma'kūs*.⁴ Bābā Farīd did not know the real nature of that *Chillah*, while due to the awe (*mahābat*) in which he stood in relation to his master, he had not the courage to inquire from him. He went to Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī⁵ and asked him about it. Shaikh Ghaznawī was ignorant of it himself, so he asked the Shaikh who replied: "*Chillah-i-Ma'kūs* means that a man should tie a rope round his feet

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 72. Amīr Khurd thus pays tribute to Bābā Farīd:

بخشش کوزین از شیخین شد در باب تو .: بادشاهی یافتی زین بادشاهان زمان
مملکت دنیا و دین گشتم مسلم مرزوا .: عالم کن گشتم اقطاع تو ای شاه جهان

(The two saints have bestowed the two worlds on thee,
Thou hast received kingship from these kings of the age,
The realms of this and the other world certainly belongs to thee,
The entire creation has been, in fact, assigned to thee.)

These verses were composed by Amīr Khurd at the time of compiling his *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, years after the death of Bābā Farīd; but the author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* (p. 166) wrongly says that they were recited extempore by a poet at the time when the two Shaikhs conferred their spiritual blessings on Bābā Farīd. Allah Diyah further states that later, in an assembly in which Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, Maulānā 'Alī Kirmānī, Sayyid Nūr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Abul Muwayyid, Maulānā Shams-u'd-dīn Turk and Maulānā Mahmud Mu'ina Doz were present, Khwāja Ajmerī bestowed upon Bābā Farīd his robe and Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn conferred his *dastār* (turban) and other articles of *Khilāfat* (p. 166). The names of the persons have been borrowed from *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, (p. 61) but Amīr Khurd does not say that Khwāja Ajmerī was present in this meeting. He simply says that these persons were present when Bābā Farīd was initiated into his discipline by Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn.

² *Chillah* means segregation for forty days in order to purify one's inner self and brighten the spiritual sensibilities through continued devotions and fasts.

³ Bābā Farīd regretted throughout his life his arrogant audacity in making a request which the Shaikh did not like. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 26.

⁴ See Chapter IV.

⁵ Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī was a distinguished disciple and *Khalifah* of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. For years he lived at Dehli and enjoyed the company of his master. He was a poet of eminence and the author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* refers to his *Diwān*, which is extinct now. He was an eloquent preacher also. Qāḍī Minhāj-u's-Sirāj, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* used to call him "*The White Falcon*". For his life, see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 73-74; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 164-166; *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 187-188; *Akhbār-u'l-Ahhyār*, p. 50; *Rawḍā-i-Aqṭāb*, pp. 71-72; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār*, MS; *Gulzar-i-Abrār*, MS.

and suspending himself downwards in a well, worship God for forty days or forty nights.”¹

It is not clear from our medieval records as to how many times Shaiḵh Farid visited Dehli to see his master, and how long he stayed with him each time. It is, however, certain that he completed his spiritual training under him. One day a visitor asked Sayyid Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz²: “How did Shaiḵh Qutb-u'd-dīn train Shaiḵh Farid-u'd-dīn?” The Sayyid replied that Shaiḵh Farid had joined Shaiḵh Qutb-u'd-dīn's discipline after acquiring complete spiritual ability (*ista'dād-i-tamām*.) He needed little instruction and so he did not live with the Shaiḵh for a long time.³

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 68-69. One day when Sayyid Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz was telling his audience about this *Chillah* of Bābā Farid, a man asked: “How is it that blood does not run out of the eyes and mouth of the person who performs it and how food and other things do not come out of him?” The saint replied that there was no question of blood or food in the dried and emaciated body of a saint—reduced to mere skeleton by prayers and penitences. *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām* p. 231.

² Sayyid Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz (ob. 825 A.H./1421 A.D.) was a famous disciple and Khālīfah of Shaiḵh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehli. He settled at Gulbargah (in Hyderabad-Deccan) and propagated the teachings of his *silsilah*. He was a prolific writer and wrote more than two dozen books on different aspects of religion and mysticism. His conversations have been recorded in the *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām* by Sayyid Muḥammad Husainī. For biographical notices, see *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 129-134; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS); *Siyar-i-Muhammadi*, by Shāh Muḥammad 'Alī Sāmānī, (Printed at Unānī Dawākhānah Press, Sabzi Mandī, Allahabad).

³ *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām*, p. 230.

CHAPTER IV

Prayers and Penitences

*Ma'rifa*t (gnosis) being the *summum bonum* of a mystic's life, methods were explored through which *wasl* (union) could be achieved. The heart¹ was considered to be the only medium which could set the Finite in tune with the Infinite. The entire mystic journey in all its stages had to be undertaken with the help of heart (فی سرة قلبی), and it was through prayers and penitences that it could be made responsive to divine messages.²

"All the *Shaikhs* of India", remarks Muḥammad Ghauthī, "are unanimous in declaring that no saint has excelled Ganj-i-Shakar in his devotions and penitences³." In fact his life is one long story of prayers, vigils and fasts.⁴ These penitences not only purified his inner life but opened his soul to the indwelling power of God.

¹ For heart, as the centre of the cosmic emotions, see *Risālah-i-Matlūb-fi-'Ishq-i'l-Mahbūb*, written by Muḥammad Amīr Māh during the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughlaq (752-790 A.H./1351-88 A.D.). Also, *Lawā'ih*, translated by Whinfield and Qazwīnī, pp. 4-5; *Misbah-u'l-Hidāyah-wa-Miftāh-u'l-Kifāyah*, pp. 97-101.

² The value of these practices in spiritual ascension has been very well discussed by Shāh Walī-u'l-lah of Dehli in his *Hujjat-u'llah-il-Balighah*, *Tafhimāt-i-Ilāhiyah* and *Qaul-u'l-Jamīl*. See also *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, (p. 150) where Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Delhi remarks: "*Mujāhidah* (self-mortification) first, *mushāhidah* (Vision of Reality) afterwards."

³ *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, MS; *Iqtibās-u'l-Anwār* (MS) f 166 a.

⁴ 'Alī Asghar gives the following account of his penitences. Bābā Farīd went into the jungle and lived there for ten years subsisting mainly on leaves of trees. When he returned home his mother asked him about his achievements during the period. Bābā Farīd said that he had not taken anything except the leaves of trees. Then his mother began to comb his hair affectionately with her fingers. Bābā Farīd's head, which had not been cleaned and combed for years, began to ache. "Farīd! You have wasted your time and have achieved nothing," cried out his mother when she found him sensitive to pain. Bābā Farīd again left his home and wandered in jungles for years. He tied a round piece of wood to his empty belly. When anyone asked him about his food, he would reply that he had taken it. When he returned to his mother and told her all this, she said: "You have spoken lies all through. You have therefore wasted this period also." (*Jawāhar-i-Farīdī*, MS.)

This account is full of exaggerations. Had he roamed about for twenty or thirty years in jungles, our earlier authorities would not have failed to note this fact. In later *tadhkirahs*, particularly the *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī*, hyperbolic and exaggerated statements appear frequently. He is stated to have lived for 120 years. His *Chillah-i-Ma'kūs* which lasted for forty days has been stated to have lasted ten years.

'Alī Asghar had seen the *qurs-i-Chubin* in 1036 A.H./1626 A.D. in the Dargāh of Bābā Farīd. Probably he is the first writer to refer to them.

When Captain Wade visited Pāk-Pattan in 1832 he was shown several relics, "among which the most curious was a round flat piece of wood of the size and shape of an Indian bread or *Chapati*. In the long fasts which the saint imposed on himself, he is said to have solaced his hunger by gnawing this hard substances." (*J.A.S.B.*, 1837, p. 192) These *qurs-i-chubin* have been carefully preserved and may be seen even today.

Bābā Farīd as we have seen, was drawn to a life of prayers and fasts by his mother. He was very fond of sugar and every time that he offered his obligatory prayers, his mother gave him some sugar. Later, when Bābā Farīd's interest in prayers developed and he subjected himself to severe spiritual exercises, his mother proved to be a very hard task master.

When Shaiikh Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī ordered Shaiikh Farīd to perform the *Chillah-i-Ma'kūs*¹ (The Inverted *Chillah*), he began to search a lonely place with a mosque and a well near it. Fame was something which he despised and hated, and it was very difficult to find a place where all his devotions would remain unnoticed by the people. His search for such a place in Dehli proving vain, he turned towards Hānsī. There too he could not find a lonely corner with the necessary atmosphere to perform the *Chillah*. He wandered from town to town and from village to village in search for a proper place for his *Chillah*. At last he reached Uchch. Here he found a mosque—Masjid-i-Hajj²—in a calm and quiet part of the town, with a well over which spread the branches of trees, and a good *mu'adhdhin*,³ Khwāja Rashīd-u'd-dīn Minā'i, who was a native of Hānsī and had great faith in Bābā Farīd. In order to satisfy himself fully whether the *mu'adhdhin*

¹ It has been stated in *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* that Shaiikh Abū Sa'id Abū'l Khair used to say that whatever he heard about the Prophet's manner of offering prayers he himself did that. He came to know that the Prophet had offered *Namāz-i-Ma'kūs*, and he hastened to do the same (p. 7). In *Asrār-u'l-Tauhīd-fī-Maqāmāt-i-Shaiikh Abi Sa'id*, by Muhammad bin Munawwar, a grandson of Shaiikh Abi Sa'id (Tehran Edition, 1313 A.H.) we find references to *Salāt-i-Ma'kūs* being offered by the Shaiikh, but I have not been able to find any reference to *Namāz-i-Ma'kūs* in standard collections of Ahādith. The author of *Ma'arij-u'l-Walāyat* says that a visitor had questioned Shaiikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehli about the legality of the *Namāz-i-Ma'kūs*, and the latter had replied :

در کتب علم ظاهر ندیدم

(I have not found it in books of 'ilm-i-zāhir (Shari'at). In *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilam* the same question is attributed to a visitor of Sayyid Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz (p. 231).

The only other Chishtī saint who is reported to have performed *Namāz-i-Ma'kūs* is Khwāja Abu Muḥammad Chishtī (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 40)

Shāh Wali-u'llah writes :

للحشید صلوة تسمى صلوة المعكوس لم نجد من السنة ولا اقوال الفقهاء ما نشدها
به فلذلك خذناها والعلم عند الله *Qaul-u'l-Jamil*, p. 53.

(And there is a *namāz* among the Chishtīs, known as *Salāt-i-Ma'kūs*. We could not find any authority for it in the Traditions of the Prophet or in the sayings of the jurists. We therefore did not discuss it here. Its legality or otherwise is known to God alone).

The manner of performing the *Salāt-i-Ma'kūs* has been described in detail by the author of *Ma'arij-u'l-Walāyat*. Among the Hindus there is a class of Sadhus known as *Urdhamukhi* about whom it is said that they hang their heads downwards suspended from the bough of a tree or a suitable framework and pray. J.C. Oman : *The Mystics, Ascetics And Saints of India*, p. 46.

² Amīr Khurd who compiled his book in 1358 A.D. informs us that this mosque was in tact till his time and people used to pray in that mosque. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 70.

³ One who assembles the people to prayers by proclamation from minaret or tower of a mosque.

could be entrusted with a secret, Bābā Farīd stayed there for three days and watched the ways of Khwāja Minā'ī. Then, one day after 'Ishā prayers, he asked the mu'adhdhin to bring him a rope. One end of the rope was tied to his feet and the other to a branch of the tree over the well. The mu'adhdhin then lowered him into the well. The Shaikh requested the mu'adhdhin to come before dawn and pull the rope up. The Shaikh prayed in that position throughout the night. In the early hours of the morning the mu'adhdhin pulled up the rope and the Shaikh continued his prayers on the floor. In this way the Shaikh performed his *Chillah* for forty nights.¹

Later writers have used this *Chillah* as a basis for weaving fantastic stories round the Shaikh and about his penitences. 'Alī Aṣghar gives a romantic touch to the whole episode when he says that birds had built their nests on the body of Shaikh Farīd.² This is good fiction but not sober history. The picture which emerges from works like *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* and the fabricated *Malfūzāt* is certainly not the picture of Shaikh-u'l-Islām Farīd-u'l-Ḥaqq-Wad-dīn as described by Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. The ascetic elements which dominate all these accounts do not give us the true personality of the great saint. At no place in the contemporary works do we find the saint overpowered by that spiritual intoxication (*sukr*) in which one loses control of himself; the Bābā Farīd of *Rāhat-u'l-Qulūb* and *Fawā'id-u's-Sālakīn* is incompatible of the Shaikh Farīd of real history.

The inspiring motive of Bābā Farīd's devotions and penitences was neither the hope of Heaven nor the fear of Hell. It sprang out of his intense love for his Lord. His heart was 'Love's feverous citadel' and he prayed and fasted day and night because he wanted to break all obstructions which stood between him and his Beloved. Whether in Kathwāl, Hānsī, Dehlī, Uchch or Ajodhan he was always absorbed in his prayers.

Early during his contact with Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī he was advised to follow the mystic principle of *Tayy*³ and to break the fast only when something from an unforeseen source was bestowed on him. Bābā Farīd fasted for three days continuously and

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 70.

It appears from *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām* (p. 231) that the Shaikh continued this *Chillah* in the day also and came out only to offer his obligatory prayers. There is nothing in our contemporary records to support this. Amīr Khurd definitely says :

”برین چهل شب چهل معکوس داشت“

”in this way he kept *Chillah-i-Ma'kūs* for forty nights“.

The author of *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* extends the period of this *Chillah* to ten years. In a *Malfūz* of Shaikh Hussām-u'd-dīn Manikpurī the period is stretched to 6 months. (See, *Ma'arīj-u'l-Walāyat*, MS)

² ”کنجشکان در زانوهای مبارک ایشان جا ساختند“ *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī*, (MS).

³ Literally *Tayy* (v. n of طوی) means 'fasting voluntarily'. In mystic parlance it means fasting for three days in such a way that nothing is taken at the *ifṣār* time except three or four drops of water. (*Ghiyāth-u'l-Lughāt*, p. 277).

got nothing with which he could break his fast. On the third day a man brought some bread to him. The Shaiikh broke his fast. Soon afterwards he saw a kite with intestines of some animal in her beak. This sight was so repulsive for him that he vommitted whatever he had taken. When he reported the matter to his Shaiikh, he said: "Farid you have broken your fast with the bread brought by a drunkard. By God's grace that meal did not stay in your stomach. Go and observe your fast for three days again. Break your fast with whatever comes from the Ghaib (the unknown)." Bābā Farid again fasted for three days. Weakness overpowered him and his empty stomach began to burn. He picked up a few pebbles and put them in his mouth. These pebbles turned into sugar.¹ The Shaiikh thought it to be the trick of the devil. He threw away the pebbles and again busied himself in devotions. At midnight he was again tortured by the cravings of an empty stomach. He again picked up the pebbles and put them in his mouth. Again they turned into sugar. He again thought it to be the devil's trick and threw them away. In the small hours of the morning he thought that if he did not eat anything, he would not be able even to perform his morning prayers. He picked up the pebbles and swallowed them once more. Next morning he narrated the whole story to his master who remarked, "You did the right thing in breaking your fast with them. Whatever comes from the Ghaib is good. Go. You will be sweet like sugar²." Amīr Khurd says that this was the reason for calling him *Pir-i-Shakarbār*, or *Ganj-i-Shakar*.

"Fasting", says Imām Ghazzālī, "is one-half of self-control and self-control is one-half of faith³." Bābā Farid considered frequent fasting almost indispensable for spiritual progress. Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya informs us that the saint seldom missed his fasts⁴ and these fasts were kept in this way that the Shaiikh did not take anything at *sahr*.⁵

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 67.

Amīr Khurd quotes a verse from Sanā'i:

سنگ در دست تو گهر گردد
زهر در کام تو شکر گردد

(Stone turns into a pearl in thy hand, poison becomes sugar in thy mouth).

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 67-68; *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* (MS); *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p. 164-165; *Ma'arīj-u'l-Walāyat*, (MS).

³ *K'imiya-i-Sa'adat*, (Lucknow 1907 A.D.), Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya quotes this remark of Imām Ghazzālī from his *Ihyā-u'l-'Ulūm*. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 75.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 401. In his earlier years the Shaiikh used to keep *Rozah-i-Da'ūdī*. (*Rozah-i-Da'ūdī* means keeping fasts on alternate days. It is easier to keep continuous fasts because in that case the system gets accustomed to it and fasting becomes a matter of routine; but fasting on alternate day is extremely exacting and painful. See *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 21). One day a guest from Meerut, Shaiikh 'Alī, came to Hānsī to see Bābā Farid. Bābā Farid took his meal with the visitor who thought: "It would have been excellent had the Shaiikh been a constant faster. The Shaiikh's intuitive mind divined what was passing into his mind and holding back his hand from the food said: "I shall keep constant fasts from now." *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 64.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 386.

Several times in his life Bābā Farīd thought of going on the Hajj pilgrimage. Once he even went up to Uchch, but returned home when suddenly it came to his mind that his master Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār had not performed the Hajj pilgrimage and that it would not be proper for him to depart from his tradition.¹

Bābā Farīd's life at Ajodhan was a chequered one. There were times when enormous *futūḥ* (unasked for charity) came to his Khānqah. There were occasions when the entire household had to starve. Sometimes the youngsters of the house reached the point of death owing to continuous starvation. The Shaikh's attendants and disciples stood by him and bore all the hardships with a cheerful heart. They would go to the jungles pick up *pelu* and *delah*² and prepare meals for themselves and their master. Neither affluence nor scarcity had any effect on the kind of life that the Shaikh had adopted. Whatever his external condition, he devoted himself with singleness of purpose to Him and Him alone. His love stricken heart cried out :

I Love Thee : I love Thee :

'T is all that I can say,

It is my vision in the night,

My dreaming in the day :

The very echo of my heart,

The blessing when I pray,

I love Thee : I love Thee :

Is all that I can say.

To see the Shaikh saying his prayers was a thrilling spiritual experience. When alone in his room he would lay his head on the ground for hours and recite³ :

از بهر تو میروم ز برای تو زیم

(I die for Thee and live for Thee)

in a manner that would move the soul of the listener. He used to advise his disciples to read this couplet in their *munājāt* (Prayers to God) :

از حضرت تو سه چیز میخواستهم

وقت خوش و آب دیده و راحت دل

(Oh Lord ! I want three things from Thee,

Happy time, tears and repose of heart).

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 407.

² Wild fruits of thorny plants found in the Punjāb and used as food.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p.302, *Khair-u'l-Majūlis*, p. 224.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 423-24.

CHAPTER V

Itineracy

Travelling was an essential part of mystic discipline in the middle ages. It had a number of advantages. Firstly, it brought the mystics in touch with men of different temperaments, living under different climes and under different conditions. The mystic gained intimate knowledge of human nature, a knowledge which helped him a lot in dealing with men when he settled down at one place with the determination to guide the faltering steps of his fellow human beings. Secondly, when a mystic abandoned his home and started on his travels, all those ties that bind man to a particular region and thereby narrow down his sympathies and his vision were automatically broken. Maulānā 'Izz-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd bin 'Alī Kāshānī has discussed in detail the benefits accruing out of mystic travels.¹ The great Chishtī saints—Shaikh 'Uṭhmān Harvanī, Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī and Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn—had travelled extensively for years. The apocryphal *Malfūz* literature ascribes to Bābā Farīd extensive tours of Muslim 'Ajam. He is reported to have visited Baghdād, Bukhāra, Siwistan, Badakhshān, Kirmān, Qandhār and Ghaznīn,² and met Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī, Khwāja Ajal Shirāzī, Shaikh Saif-u'd-dīn Bākharzī, Shaikh Aḥmad-u'd-dīn Kirmānī and others. So far as India is concerned, he is taken to Kashmīr, Mālwah, Ajmer etc.

The problem of Bābā Farīd's travels deserves careful study in the light of the following facts :—

1. Our earliest authorities—*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, *Khair-u'l-Majālis* and *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*—do not say a single word about the Shaikh's peregrinations in lands abroad. If Bābā Farīd travelled so extensively as the fabricated *Malfūz* literature would have us believe, why did Amīr Ḥasan and Amīr Khurd not mention the fact? Later writers, like Jamālī, 'Alī Aṣghar, Allāh Diyāh and others mention the saint's travels in other lands. Their only source of information is, of course, the apocryphal literature of the period and the legends and stories which have been handed down to them.

2. The time when Bābā Farīd is supposed to have undertaken his travels in foreign lands was a period of terrible turmoil. The Mongol

¹ See, *Misbāh-u'l-Hidāyah-wa-Miftāḥ-u'l-Kifāyah*, edited by Jalāl-u'd-dīn Humā'ī pp. 263-269.

² *Rāhat-u'l-Qulūb*, (MS) *Rāhat-u'l-Muhibbīn* (MS), *Asrār-u'l-Auliya* (MS). Following these works, Abū'l Faḍl (*Ā'in-i-Akbarī*), Jamālī (*Siyar-u'l-Arifīn* p. 48) and Ghauthī (*Gulzār-i-Abrār* MS) have referred to Bābā Farīd's travels in foreign lands.

irruption had destroyed flourishing Muslim towns and "the cultural centres of eastern Islām were practically wiped out of existence leaving bare deserts or shapeless ruins where formerly stately palaces and libraries had lifted their heads¹." Even in the days when Ibn-i-Baṭṭuṭah visited Bukhāra, Samarqand, Balkh and other Transoxianan cities, he found them still largely in ruins. Under such conditions there was no question of trade travels, pleasure trips or mystic itineraries. An endless stream of refugees was pouring into India from those lands.²

3. Bābā Farīd's spiritual teacher being in India, it was hardly necessary for him to roam about in distant lands with unsettled conditions.

In view of these facts it seems highly improbable that Bābā Farīd undertook any journey to foreign lands. The only exception that can be made is, of course, his journey to Qandhār to complete his education there in the last decade of the twelfth century.

¹ *History of the Arabs*, P. K. Hitti, p. 482-83.

² It was at this time that a very famous disciple of Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Balḥīyār Kākī, Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī, left his home and came to India. When in Lahore he was undecided whether he should proceed to Dehli or return to Ghaznī where his parents and relations lived. He consulted the *Qur'ān* and was directed to proceed to Dehli. Soon afterwards news arrived that the Mongols had conquered Ghaznī and put all his relations to death. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 73, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 165.

CHAPTER VI

In Hansi

Hānsī is an ancient town in the Hisār district.¹ Sultān Mas'ūd of Ghaznī occupied it in 1036,² but the Chauhans recovered it later.³ After the Battle of Tarain, Hānsī was occupied and garrisoned by Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghur.⁴ In 1192, a Hindu chief, Jatwan, besieged the Muslim garrison at Hānsī and Aibek had to march in person in order to relieve it. From that time onwards it continued to be a place of great strategic importance. Bābā Farid settled there after he had completed his course of mystic discipline at the feet of Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. Hānsī was a cantonment and Bābā Farid thought that he would pass his days there undisturbed by large civilian crowds; but an interesting event brought him into the limelight.⁵

Maulānā Nūr Turk,⁶ an eminent mystic and an excellent speaker, reached Hānsī. Bābā Farid went to hear his sermon. Bābā Farid's

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, (i) p. 234.

² *Tārīkh-i-Āl-i-Sabuktigīn* p. 664.

³ An inscription of the Chauhan prince Prithavi Raj I records his conquest of Asī (Hānsī) and its conversion into a fortified outpost against the Muslims in V.S. 1224/1167 A.D. See *Indian Antiquary*, XLI, p. 17-18.

⁴ *Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī*, p. 120.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 62.

⁶ Maulānā Nūr Turk was a man of intensely religious temperament. Though he was not the disciple of any saint, yet he led the life of the mystics, passing his days in poverty. His only means of livelihood was a *dāng* per day which his freed slave gave to him. (*Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 74) Sultan Rādiyāh once sent some gold to him but he refused to accept it. (*Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 74) Nūr Turk did not like the worldliness and the materialistic outlook of the 'ulamā of the day. He often condemned them for their greed of gold and glory. Men like Minhāj could hardly tolerate such criticism. They retaliated by presenting him to posterity in lurid colours. Minhāj says that he was the leader of the Mulāhidah (*Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī*, p. 189-90). During the reign of Rādiyāh he collected together his devotees from the neighbourhood of Dehli, Gujrat, Sind and the Doab. They began to condemn the Hanafi and Shāfi'i doctrines and called the Sunnī 'ulamā Nāsiḥī and Murjī. On Rajab 6,634/1237 one thousand armed Mulāhidah entered the Jāma' Masjid from two directions and killed a number of the Mussalmans. When confusion spread, some persons from the city—Nasir-u'd-dīn Balramī and Imām Nāsir—came armed with weapons. They fought with the Mulāhidah while the Mussalmans threw stones from the mosque. (*Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī*, p. 189-90).

This is Minhāj's account of the rising. I am inclined to believe that Maulānā Nūr Turk had nothing to do with the rising. Minhāj has attributed to him the raising of this trouble for which, probably, he was not at all responsible. My contention that he was not one of the Mulāhidah is based on the following considerations: (i) Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya says about him that he was purer than the rain water. (از آب آسمان پاکیزه تر بود). See *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 199. (ii) A Mulāhidah scholar would not have been reverentially mentioned by scholars like Amir Khurd and Shaiḫ 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muhaddith of Dehli as "Maulānā Nūr Turk". (iii) Shaiḫ 'Abd-u'l-Haqq could not have included him in his *ladhkirah* had he been one of the Mulāhidah. (iv) Rādiyāh would never have thought of sending money to a Mulāhidah, for it was the declared policy of all the Sunnī rulers owing allegiance to the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate to take stern measures against the heretics. (v) Had he been a Mulāhidah, Bābā Farid would not have gone to attend his sermon. There is not a single instance in the medieval literature of Sunnī mystics associating with the Mulāhidah scholars. (vi) On leaving India, Nūr Turk went to Mecca and lived there. No Mulāhidah scholar would have been permitted to live like that in the sacred city of Mecca.

clothes were in shreds and there was nothing in his outward appearance to suggest that he was a deeply religious man. Besides, he was not personally known to the eminent visitor. But, as soon as he stepped into the mosque, Maulānā Nūr Turk exclaimed: "O Mussalmans! the appraiser of true speech (*Sarrāf-i-Sukhan*) has arrived." All anxious eyes turned towards Bābā Farīd. Nūr Turk then showered lavish encomiums on him. "He praised me", Bābā Farīd informed his disciples in his old age, "in words he had not cared to bestow on any king¹."

Nūr Turk's speech made Bābā Farīd famous in Hānsī and visitors began to throng round him in large numbers. It was during his stay at Hānsī that Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn joined his discipline.² He was a favourite disciple of the Shaikh and it was out of love for him that the Shaikh stayed in Hānsī for twelve years.³ It is difficult, however, to determine with precision the duration of Bābā Farīd's stay in Hānsī. Probably he stayed there for nineteen or twenty years and left it some years after the death of Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 199-200.

² Jamālī says that soon after the Shaikh's return from Dehli, Jamāl-u'd-dīn received *Khirqah* from his master. (p. 33).

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 178.

CHAPTER VII

At the Head of the Chishti Silsilah

"Maulānā Farīd-u'd-dīn!", Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn addressed his disciple with tears in his eyes when the latter sought his permission to leave Dehli for Hānsī, "I know that you will go to Hānsī." "I will do as the Shaikh orders me to do," submitted Bābā Farīd. "Go", continued Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, "it has been pre-ordained that you will not be present at the time of my death¹." The saint then asked those who were assembled there to recite the *fātiḥah* for the spiritual elevation of Bābā Farīd and bestowed upon him his special prayer carpet and staff. While bidding him farewell Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn said that he would leave his *khirqah*, *dastūr* and wooden sandals² with Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī and that he would receive them from him on the fifth day of his death. Then, with these words on his lips: "My place is yours," the great Chishtī saint of Dehli parted for ever with his eminent disciple from the Punjāb.

Khwāja Bakhtiyār's words decided the problem of his successor. Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī and a few other disciples of the Shaikh who were anxious for this honour were gravely disappointed. But no appeals or protests against the Shaikh's decision were possible. His word was law.

The night on which Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī was to depart for the world beyond, Bābā Farīd dreamt that his master was calling him to his presence. At dawn he left for Dehli. The messenger who was sent from Dehli to convey the sad news to Bābā Farīd met him in the way. Bābā Farīd hastened to the capital, and reached there on the fourth day. Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī handed over the mystic regalia to him. Bābā Farīd offered two *rak'ats* (genuflexions) of prayer, put the *khirqah* on his head and then proceeded to the house of his deceased master and sat in his place.³ Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 73.

² It may be noted here that the *Khirqah* (patched frock), *dastūr* (turban), *'asā*, (rod), and the *na'lain-i-chubīn* (wooden sandals) constituted, what may be called the mystic regalia. It was entrusted by the dying saint to the best amongst his disciples, a disciple whom he thought fit to bear the burden of leading the organization.

These articles were later delivered by Bābā Farīd to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya who, in his turn, gave them to Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh of Dehli. Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn did not consider any of his disciples fit to shoulder the burden of the organization. He did not, therefore, give them to any one, but, on the other hand, advised his disciples to bury them with him in his grave. *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 287.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 187-88. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 72-73.

had also wished him to marry his widow, but Bābā Farid expressed his inability to do that.¹

Bābā Farid's stay at the capital as the head of the Chishtī *Silsilah* was full of interesting experiences. So long he had passed his life in a far off town of the Punjāb, away from the hurry and bustle of the capital. Dehli was a different world. It was difficult to find here that placid tranquillity that one found in Hānsī. Every day Bābā Farid was invited to feasts and much of his time was wasted in futile and aimless engagements. He got fed up with this life.² Every day he thought of leaving Dehli but was still undecided when the following incident made him quit Dehli.

A man, Sarhangā³ by name, came to Dehli from Hānsī. Every day he sought an interview with Bābā Farid but the *darban* did not allow him to get in. One day, when the Shaikh came out,⁴ Sarhangā, who was waiting for his opportunity, fell at his feet and began to weep. "Access to you was easy when you were in Hānsī, but it is very difficult here," cried Sarhangā. Bābā Farid was deeply touched and he immediately decided to leave for Hānsī. His friends and disciples in Dehli were surprised at this sudden decision to leave the capital. "Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn," they said, "had assigned and entrusted this place to you. Why do you go elsewhere?" "My master's blessing," replied Bābā Farid, "will accompany me whether I am in the city or in the wilderness⁵."

The Sarhangā episode might have been the immediate cause for quitting Dehli, but there were other considerations also which determined his action. He did not like to enter into an unseemly competition or rivalry with his friend, Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī, who had all along been in Dehli and had also worked with his deceased master. It, therefore, seemed proper to him to leave Dehli entirely in his hands and avoid a conflict. The Shaikh's decision to leave Dehli proved a blessing for the larger interests of the Chishtī *Silsilah*. Subsequent developments in Dehli fully justified the wisdom of his action in settling at a place far off from the capital.

¹ *Khair-u'l-Majūlis*, p. 89.

² *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn*, p. 33.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 188. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 73.

Neither Amīr Hasan nor Amīr Khurd have given any details about Sarhangā. Jamālī and Ghulām Mu'in-u'd-dīn however say that he was a *majdhūb*. His name appears to be that of a Non-Muslim or a new convert to Islam.

Sarhangā was an official attached to the camp (*Raverty* p. 103) or the revenue ministry (*Barani*, p. 288). He may have been afterwards known by the same title. This name was common amongst the Ghakkars later.

⁴ Jamālī says that the Shaikh had come out to offer his Friday prayers. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn*, p. 33.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 73. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 188.

A few months after the death of Shaiikh Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Iltutmish also died. Political intrigues amongst the Turkish nobles which followed his death weakened the royal authority and poisoned the springs of social life. Every Turkish noble had in his service a number of theologians to whip up public opinion in his favour. Under such conditions the fortunes of a scholar or a saint associated with a noble waxed and waned with the fortunes of that noble.

In an atmosphere so surcharged with intrigue, it was not possible for a saint to keep out of politics. Shaiikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī attached himself to Malik Nizām-u'd-dīn Kharīṭahdār (the treasurer). The Malik constructed a Khānqah for the Shaiikh and offered to bear all his expenses. The Shaiikh's acceptance of this offer was against the traditions of the Chishtī *Silsilāh* but in the atmosphere of intrigue which had developed at Dehli, there seemed nothing surprising in it.¹ However, it was not possible for the Shaiikh to escape from the consequences. The Malik got involved in an embezzlement case and with his ruin came the ruin of Shaiikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī. Much worried and perplexed he wrote to Bābā Farīd: "One of the servants of the *dīwān* had built a Khānqah for me and had arranged for the boarding and the lodging of the *durweshes*. Now a charge of embezzlement has been brought against him. I am much worried and disturbed. Kindly pray for his release and the welfare of the *durweshes*." "He who does not follow the principle of his master," wrote Bābā Farīd in reply, "is confronted with such troubles and worries that his heart gets no peace. Who, among our masters, did ever construct a Khānqah for himself and reside there as you have done? It was not the practice of Shaiikh Qutb-u'd-dīn and his master Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn to construct a Khānqah and set up a shop. Wherever they went or sojourned, they tried to conceal themselves from the people²."

Bābā Farīd's indictment of the attitude of Shaiikh Badr-u'd-dīn was perfectly justified and probably it was his determination to keep out of politics which made him leave Dehli.

¹ Bābā Farīd's younger brother Shaiikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil though a real *mutawakkil* (resigned to the will of God) accepted in Dehli the *Imāmat* of a mosque constructed and maintained by a Turk who allotted to him a house also. But Shaiikh Najīb was a man of convictions. The noble spent more than a *lac jitals* on the marriage of his daughter. The Shaiikh objected to this lavish expenditure and was dismissed. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 79. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 78.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 79. See also *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 188.

CHAPTER VIII

In Ajodhan

Though his pīr Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī had appointed him as his successor, the period of Bābā Farīd's spiritual self-training was not yet over. He was constantly in search of a place where he could carry on his devotions undisturbed by visitors. When Maulānā Nūr Turk's praise made him famous in Hānsī, he moved to Kahtwāl. As the stream of visitors increased in Kahtwāl, he shifted to Ajodhan, where he lived till the last moment of his life.¹

Ajodhan—modern Pākpatan²—was an ancient town which probably derived its name from the Yaudheya tribe (the modern Johiyas).³ It was a place of great importance as the principal ferry across the Sutlej and the meeting place of the great western roads from Dera Ghazi Khan to Dera Ismail Khan. But it appears that the spot selected by the Shaiikh for his stay was inhabited by backward Hindu tribes.⁴ There were *chuls* (deserts) all round. Snakes and wild animals were to be found everywhere. The Shaiikh himself was bitten by a snake,⁵ while his mother was devoured by a wild animal in the vicinity of Ajodhan. The inhabitants of this place professed degrading beliefs.⁶ They were illiterate, bad-tempered⁷ and superstitious.⁸ No place could be more suitable for a saint wishing to pass his years of self-discipline in a lonely corner. He spread his carpet under a cluster of trees outside the town.⁹ For some time there was none to disturb him. But very soon the period of self-discipline came to an end and 'uzlat (isolation) was changed into *ṣuḥbat* (company). He threw open the gates of his house to every one who wished to see him. "Come to me one by one," he told his visitors, "so that I may attend to you individually."¹⁰

¹ Amir Khurd says that according to one tradition the Shaiikh lived in Ajodhan for 16 years and according to another report for 24 years till his death. (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 63.)

² "The modern name of Pākpatan ('Ferry of the Pure') is derived from the saint Farīd-u'd-dīn, one of the most famous devotees of Northern India, who was instrumental in the conversion of the whole Southern Punjab to the faith of Islām". W.W. Hunter *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X, 1886. Second edition p. 532. See also Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 256-51.

³ *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (New Edition 1908), Vol. XIX, p. 332-333.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p. 163.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 80-81.

⁶ *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p. 168.

⁷ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 188. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 33. *Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 51. *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, MS.

⁸ *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p. 168. In some *tadhkirahs* it is stated that they had no faith in saints, implying of course, Muslim saints.

⁹ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 89. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 33.

¹⁰ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 68. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 34.

One of the first things that Bābā Farīd did on settling at Ajodhan was to send his younger brother, Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil, to bring his mother from Kahtwāl. Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn went to Kahtwāl, mounted his aged mother on his horse and started towards Ajodhan. While crossing a *chul*, Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn felt thirsty. He requested his mother to sit under the shade of a tree and went on horse in search of water. When he came back he did not find his mother. He made frantic search for her in every direction but to no avail. With a heavy heart he returned to his elder brother. Bābā Farīd ordered the funeral rites of his mother to be performed.

It is said that after some time Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn happened to pass through the same *chul*. The tragic way in which his mother had disappeared had racked his heart. He cast his gloomy eyes in every direction appealing to the place to disclose the mystery of the disappearance of his mother. All of a sudden he came across some bones. "These are the bones of my mother," he told himself and collected them in a bag and took them to his brother. Bābā Farīd asked him to put the bones on his prayer carpet, but, when the bag was opened, there was nothing in it.²

Bābā Farīd's fame now began to spread far and wide. It crossed the borders of India and attracted people from distant lands. But his life at Ajodhan was a hard one. He had to bear a number of troubles at the hands of his fellow citizens and the local officers. His fame and popularity was gall and wormwood to the '*ulāmā-i-zīhirī*. The Qāḍī of Ajodhan became jealous of him and at his instigation the jāgirdārs and other government and semi-government officers began to harass his family. True to the traditions of his elder saints he bore all these troubles with remarkable patience. It was not his principle to enter into disputes or controversies with any human being. When the Shaikh's forbearance foiled the Qāḍī's attempts at provocation, he approached the scholars of Multān for a legal verdict (*fatwah*) against the Shaikh. "An educated man lives in a mosque, hears songs and dances. What is your opinion about him?" The '*Ulāmā* refrained from expressing any opinion on the basis of that meagre data. "Let us know first of all who the person is about whom you want this *fatwah*," they asked the Qāḍī. When they heard the name of Bābā Farīd they replied: "You have referred to a saint against whom no *mujtahid* can dare raise his finger²." The Qāḍī returned to Ajodhan disappointed and snubbed; but this rebuff, far from toning down his hostility, aggravated his bitterness. He hired an assassin to kill the saint. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya says:

"One day Shaikh-u'l-Islam Farīd-u'd-dīn offered his morning prayer and placed his head in *sijdah*.....He used to spend some

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 122-123. *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 287-88. *Ma'arīj-u'l-Walāyat*, MS.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 96. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn*, p. 43.

time in that position very often. As it was bitterly chill, a *postīn* was spread over him. There was no servant present at that time except myself. A man suddenly appeared and accosted so loudly that the Shaikh was disturbed in his devotions. The Shaikh, in that very position of prostration and with the *postīn* over him, asked: "Who is here?" "I am," I replied. Afterwards the Shaikh said: "The man who has come is a Turk of a medium size with slightly yellowish colour?" I looked at that man and found that he was exactly the same. "Yes, he is like this," I replied. Then the Shaikh asked: "Is he wearing a chain round his waist?" When I looked at him again I found that also. "Yes", I replied. Then he asked: "Has he anything in his ears?" I looked at him and found that he had. "Yes, he has rings," I replied. Every time that I looked at the man, his colour changed. "Tell him", the Shaikh told me, "to go away before he is disgraced". The man took to his heels and disappeared¹.

Failing in that attempt too, the Qāḍī began to harass the sons of the Shaikh. They complained to their father who replied: "You will soon get rid of them." Soon afterwards the Shaikh's enemies got scattered and those who remained developed faith in him.²

But it appears, nevertheless, that the Qāḍī who succeeded him continued the policy of his predecessor. He instigated the governor of Ajodhan to take action against him. The Qāḍī and the governor both became hostile to the Shaikh. The sons of the Shaikh were harassed and annoyed by the governor. The eldest son of the Shaikh one day told his father in a very desperate and melancholy mood: "The only advantage that we receive from your spiritual greatness is the constant persecution to which we are subjected by the governor." The Shaikh was pained at this report. He struck his rod (*'asā*) on the ground in anger. At that very moment, Shaikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Debli informs us, the governor was afflicted with a severe pain in his stomach. "Take me to the house of Shaikh Farid-u'd-dīn," he cried in pain. He died soon afterwards.³

The Shaikh's life was a hard one. He had never the affluence and plenty which his friend and contemporary Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā enjoyed. He lived a life of poverty and distress. In his last years he was in extremely straitened circumstances. There was no *futūḥ* and the family was a big one. These difficulties, however, could not disturb the inner peace of his mind. His companions were men of the same kidney. They stood by the side of their master through thick and thin.

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 153. The author of *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* says that he had an open knife hidden in his armpit and that he was employed by the Qāḍī. (p. 34-35) Jamālī calls the assassin a *qalandar* (p. 35). Amīr Ḥaṣan calls him a Turk. (p. 153).

² Jamālī says that on hearing these complaints, the Shaikh advised his sons :

"چور و چقاڻی ایشان بکشید کم کشند و کشند با شد" *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 34.

³ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 182.

CHAPTER IX

Life in Ajodhan

(a) *The Shaikh and His Family*

Far from the atmosphere of courts and camps, Bābā Farid lived near the main mosque of Ajodhan in a small thatched building constructed of wood and mud and passed his days and nights in prayers and in attending to the problems of the spiritually starved people. His life was one long struggle against poverty, against self and against sin. Very often kings and their ministers requested him to accept villages for his expenses but he declined the offer firmly and preferred to starve with his big family rather than debase the traditions of higher mysticism.

THE SHAIKH'S HOUSE

When Bābā Farid's family increased and his children grew up, he built a small *kachcha* house for them.¹ Later on, a devotee prevailed upon his sons to obtain the saint's permission to rebuild it with unbaked brick. The Shaikh lived in this house till his death. During his lifetime another devotee had expressed his desire to build for him a house of baked brick, but the Shaikh refused the offer with the remark: "Mas'ūd will not put brick on brick²."

HIS FAMILY

Bābā Farid had a number of wives and a big family. Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehli is reported in *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* to have stated on the authority of his master that Shaikh Farid-u'd-dīn had many wives (حرم بسیار بود).³ In the *Khair-u'l-Majālis* Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn is reported to have said that Shaikh Farid had two or three wives (دو حرم بود یا سه حرم).⁴ The Shaikh treated them all justly and equitably.⁵ However, to provide for this large family must have been a problem for him, particularly in the closing years of his life when the door of *futuh* (unasked for charity) had almost been closed on him. Very often the family had to starve. The maid servant would come and report: "Khwāja! This son of yours has starved for two days", or "This wife of yours has starved for two days". But these reports could hardly disturb the peace of his mind, and, as

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Arifān*, p. 34; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS), p. 550.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 90.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 66.

⁴ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 89.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 194.

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī tells us, these reports were like "a passing wind for him¹."

One day a wife of the Shaikh told him, "Khwāja ! To-day my son is about to expire from starvation." The Shaikh who was lost in his mystic contemplation, raised his head, as if enraged at the distraction caused by the report, and said: "What has poor Mas'ūd to do in this matter ? If Fate has so decreed and he dies, tie a rope round his feet and throw him out and come back²." This remark of the Shaikh should be read in its proper context. It would be utterly wrong to infer on the basis of this observation that the Shaikh was indifferent towards his children or that he did not care to perform his duties towards his dependants. There are moments in a Shaikh's life when he refuses to be disturbed in the least by domestic problems or worries of the mundane world.³

One day a visitor from Patiālī⁴ conveyed to him the respects of his dearest son Nizām-u'd-dīn. The Shaikh was so deeply sunk in his contemplation that he did not recognize his son and went on questioning the visitor: "Whom do you refer ?" It was after a very great difficulty that the visitor could make him understand that his own son had sent the message.⁵

These stories reveal the extent to which the Shaikh was sometimes absorbed in his mystic contemplation and should not, therefore, be cited to prove his indifference towards his family members. There are several anecdotes in contemporary religious literature which show his deep affection and love towards his sons and grandsons. One day, when he was sitting on his cot, his grandson 'Alā-u'd-dīn, then a small babe, came to him and, resting on a *patti* of his cot stood on floor. The Shaikh took out some betel from his mouth and put it into 'Alā-u'd-dīn's mouth. Soon afterwards the Shaikh left his cot, performed ablution (*Wadū*) and was about to proceed to his prayer-carpet that he found 'Alā-u'd-dīn occupying it and playing on it. 'Isā, a disciple of the Shaikh, would have persuaded the babe to leave the prayer-carpet but the Shaikh told him not to disturb him.⁶

¹ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 89. این مدتن بادی بود که در این گوش آمدی و بدان گوش رفتی. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 66-67.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 67; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 52.

³ Prof. Muhammad Habīb interprets this remark differently. He says that in this way the Shaikh gave to his family a lesson in patience.

⁴ A small town in the district of Etah. Abū'l Faḍl (*Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Calcutta Vol. I, p. 35) mentions it in the *siyar* of Qannauj. At that time it was situated on the bank of the river Ganges. (See Khursraw, *Dibāchah Ghurrai-u'l-Kamāl*).

⁵ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 223. See also p. 160. The saint recognized after great difficulty a visitor he had met in the *Khānqah* of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

⁶ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 194. The Shaikh told him in the Hindiwi language " 'Isā, let him sit there." عیسیٰ منہ تم بیسی

It seems that the Shaiikh's family has considerably increased in the last years of his life and consisted of a large number of sons, daughters, grandsons and granddaughters. Some of his grandsons had left Ajodhan during his lifetime and had settled at different places in the vicinity.¹

THE SHAIKH'S CLOTHES, BEDDING, ETC.

Never in his long life did Bābā Farid wear good clothes. Both poverty and inclination forced him to have tattered garments on his body. Early in his life when Shaiikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrizī met him at Kahtwāl his clothes were in shreds.² Later on when he met Maulānā Nūr Turk his clothes were no better.³ When he reached Dehlī, years afterwards, he was clad in grimy clothes.⁴ During his stay in Ajodhan he continued to live in the same condition. Whenever any body presented a new dress to him he gave it to the needy.⁵

The Shaiikh had no bedding. He had a blanket (*galim*) on which he used to sit during the day. This blanket was spread out on an ordinary and loosely woven cot at bed-time, and it was so small that it did not cover the whole cot. A rug (*shuqqah*) was placed at the end of the cot. If the Shaiikh covered his body with it, the end of the cot remained without any cover. The Shaiikh had no pillow and used to put the staff (*'asā*) of his master under his head after kissing it respectfully.⁶

FOOD AND FASTS

Shaiikh Farid used to fast constantly.⁷ He took nothing at the time of *sahr*,⁸ and passed the whole day in prayers and in attending to visitors

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 147.

One day Muhammad, a grandson of the Shaiikh, who was affectionately called Mamman and lived in a neighbouring village came to see his grandfather. Some one had reported to the Shaiikh that Mamman had acquired the habit of drinking wine. As soon as he appeared before the Shaiikh, he asked : "Muhammad Mamman ! People have reported that you take intoxicants." "No," replied Mamman. "I do not. They have falsely reported." The Shaiikh who had a keen insight into human nature did not pursue the matter further. "It will be as you say," he remarked and shelved the matter. Mamman alone knew what the Shaiikh meant by this remark. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad* pp. 147-8.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 63.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 62.

⁴ While in Dehlī he attended a sermon of Shaiikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī who showered encomiums on him. He was in so grimy and tattered clothes that no one could recognize him in that meeting. When he returned home, a man presented a new dress to him. Bābā Farid accepted the present and wore the new clothes, but soon took them off and gave them to Shaiikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil with the remark : "The pleasure that I have in my grimy and tattered garments is not to be found in these new clothes." *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 62. See also, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 51.

⁵ Sayyid Muhammad Gēsū Darāz however informs us that Shaiikh Farid-u'd-dīn always possessed four pairs of clothes—one on his body, one with the washerman, one in reserve for use in emergency lest some pollution prevented him from offering his prayers in time, and the fourth one for some needy person. *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām*, p. 151; *Ma'arīj-u'l-Walāyat*, (MS).

⁶ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 51-52; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 65; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 51.

⁷ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad* p. 184; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 64.

⁸ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 386. *Sahr*—Before the dawn of the day. Also the meal which is taken before the dawn of day to enable one to fast till sun set.

of all types, without showing the slightest sign of exhaustion or fatigue. At the time of *iftār* (breaking the fast) some *sherbet* and dried grapes (*munnaqqā*) were brought before him. He took one third or one half of the bowl of *sherbet* and distributed the rest amongst those present. Afterwards, two pieces of bread smeared with some *ghee* were brought. One piece was distributed amongst the audience; the other was placed before the Shaikh, but he shared it also with others.¹ The Shaikh always used *juwār* (millet) for his bread.²

This one third of a bowl of *sherbet*, a few dried grapes and half a piece of bread was all that Bābā Farīd took in twenty-four hours. When the dinner cloth was spread in his *Jamā'at Khānah*, he did not share anything with his disciples.

THE SHAIKH'S ROUTINE

Shaikh Farīd led a highly disciplined life and meticulously followed his daily programme (*zābitah*). He took his bath every day.³ It was also his daily practice to spend two hours in prostration (*sajdah*) after the morning prayer.⁴ The doors of his room were closed when he was engaged in prayers and no one could enter it as long as he was busy with his devotions. It is difficult to explain the condition of his emotions when he was alone. He would frequently recite verses and lay his head in prostration.⁵ After the *zuhr* prayers the Shaikh received his visitors.⁶ He never retired into his room unless he had attended to the problem of every visitor. He used to say: "There can be no pleasure in devotions so long as there remains a single needy person at the door." After these interviews the Shaikh busied himself with his devotions in his small room. Every night, after *iftār*, he used to call Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, when in Ajodhan, to his presence. Sometimes Maulānā Shihāb-u'd-dīn or Maulānā Rukn-u'd-dīn also attended. The Shaikh asked them about the happenings of the day: "امروز چه گذشت و چه حال بود" and showed deep concern for the inmates of the *Jamā'at Khānah*.

PERSONAL ATTENDANTS OF THE SHAIKH

Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq was the chief personal attendant of the Shaikh. According to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya he served his master so well that even ten servants could not have served him so efficiently.⁸

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 51; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 65; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 51.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 386.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 386.

Amīr Khurd quotes another report also in which it is said that the Shaikh used to bathe five times a day, before every obligatory prayer (p. 386).

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p. 152.

⁵ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 203.

⁶ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 442.

⁷ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 160.

⁸ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 177.

He was always in the attendance of the saint. When the Shaikh closed his *hujrah*, Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn sat at the door.¹ Once the Shaikh called Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn. The Maulānā was offering his prayer but at the call of his Shaikh he cried out in the midst of his prayer, "I am present²."

Besides Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn there were other disciples also who performed personal service to the Shaikh. Khwāja Aḥmad Siwistānī used to fetch water for ablutions and other requirements of the saint.³ Sometimes he washed the Shaikh's clothes also. Once the Shaikh asked him to wash his clothes. He went to a stream, washed the clothes and brought them back to the Shaikh. The Shaikh ordered him to wash them a second time. Khwāja Aḥmad realized that he had not properly performed the work assigned to him. He had performed ablution after washing the clothes, though he should have first performed ablution and then washed the clothes. When he brought the clothes before the Shaikh after washing them a second time he instructed him to wash them a third time. Khwāja Aḥmad was taken by surprise because this time he had taken all possible care to wash the Shaikh's clothes properly. He brooded over the fault and then discovered that the branches of the tree on which he had spread the clothes were polluted.⁴

There was a disciple, 'Isā by name, who looked after some private and personal matters of the Shaikh. Amīr Khurd writes about him⁵:

"عيسى... در خلوت خدمت کردی و هر رمی را که نوبت او بودی بخدمت شیخ شیوخ العالم فرستادی و نوبت این شغل نگه داشتی تا عدل درین کار مرعی ماند"

Amīr Khurd has referred to a *ghulām* of the Shaikh, Akhī Mubārak.⁶ No details about the nature of his work are available.

PRAYERS IN GRAVEYARD

Bābā Farīd often used to pray in a graveyard outside the city where many martyrs lay buried.⁷ Once the Shaikh fell seriously ill. He called Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and some other disciples and asked them to go to that graveyard and pray there for his health. These disciples carried their food with them and prayed there for a few days on a balcony of the graveyard. When they returned to the *Jamā'at Khānah* and reported to the Shaikh the compliance of his order, the Shaikh remained quiet for

¹ *Khair-u'l-Majālis* p. 224.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p. 231.

³ Once Khwāja Aḥmad could not carry *mashk* (sheep-skin tanned specially for carrying water) due to severe pain in his back. The Shaikh called him to his presence and put his hand on his back. Never again in his long life, says Amīr Khurd, did Khwāja Aḥmad ever suffer from pain in the back. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 86.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 86.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 194.

⁶ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 172.

⁷ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 90.

a while and then remarked: "Your prayer did not produce any sign of health." Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn kept silent at this remark, but his friend 'Alī Bihārī who was standing behind him, replied, "We are imperfect. The Shaikh's holy self is perfect. How can the prayer of imperfect people be effective for perfect ones?" As the Shaikh could not hear what 'Alī Bihārī had said, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya repeated his reply. The Shaikh turned his face towards Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and said, "I have prayed to God to grant all your prayers¹." Then the Shaikh gave a staff (*asī*) to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and ordered him to go again to the graveyard along with Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq and pray there. Both the saints prayed there throughout the night and when they returned, the Shaikh praised the efficacy of their prayers.²

SHAIKH, A VICTIM OF MAGIC

Once Shaikh Farid fell seriously ill. He did not take anything for many days. Every one in the Khānqah was worried and perplexed. Experienced physicians were called. They examined his pulse and urine but failed to diagnose the disease. The Shaikh's condition deteriorated every day and no one could discover what his illness was. The Shaikh called his son, Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān and his disciple, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, and asked them to pray for his recovery. Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn dreamt in the night that an old man came to him and said, "Your father is the victim of magic." Badr-u'd-dīn asked him in his dream as to who was responsible for this evil act. The old man informed him that it was the work of the son of Shihāb-u'd-dīn, the magician. Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn further asked him as to how the effect of the magic could be counteracted. The old man asked him to sit by the side of Shihāb's grave and recite a particular prayer. Next morning Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn reported the dream to his ailing father who ordered Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya to commit the prayer to memory and recite it at the grave of Shihāb, the magician. Shihāb was a well-known figure in Ajodhan and Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn had no difficulty in reaching his grave. While reciting the prayer Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn began to remove the earth from above the cenotaph of the grave. All of a sudden he came across a small human statue made of flour with a horse's hair tied round it and pierced throughout by needles. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn brought the statue to Bābā Farid who asked him to take out the needles and remove the hair. As the needles were drawn out one by one the Shaikh found his condition getting better. The figurine was thrown into the river.³ The governor of Ajodhan heard about the matter and was so enraged that he arrested

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 52.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 59.

³ The compiler of *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilam* says that the Shaikh was taken to a river where he bathed and where the statue was thrown :

شیخ را ہمہ در لب آب آنجائی کہ فریدوال می گویند بردند

the son of Shihāb, and sent him in fetters to the Shaiḫ. "This man," the governor said in his message, "deserves capital punishment. If you permit me, I shall take his life in retaliation." "God has given me health, I forgive him in gratitude (for my recovery). You should also overlook his wrong," was the Shaiḫ's reply to the governor's message.¹

DAYS OF DISTRESS

In his last years the Shaiḫ had to pass his days in extreme indigence. Even during the sacred month of Ramaḍān the household got very little at the *iflār* time. Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya lived with the Shaiḫ throughout the month of Ramaḍān, but never for a single day did he get a square meal. When he was about to leave for Dehlī, Shaiḫ Farīd gave him a gold coin (*Sulṭānī*). But that was the last coin with Shaiḫ Farīd's household. In the evening Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya found that the entire family would have to go without dinner. He placed his master's gift again at his feet.²

It is very difficult to explain the reasons for this poverty of the Shaiḫ in the closing years of his life. He was at the height of his fame and his disciples were spread throughout the country. How was it that the stream of *fulūḥ* completely dried up at this time?

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 178; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn*, pp. 39-40.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 66.

CHAPTER X

Life in Ajodhan

(b) *The Jamā'at khānah and its Visitors.*

Muslim mystics of the middle ages laid great emphasis on community life. They considered a life of solitary, self-sufficient contemplation to be incompatible with the highest mystic ideals because it made a man ego-centric, limited his sympathies and cut him off completely from the energising currents of social life. They, therefore, constructed khānqahs and *Jamā'at khānahs* where men of different temperaments and different attitudes rubbed their shoulders and learnt to live together. All tensions, conflicts and complexes in their character were, thereby, resolved and their personalities were moulded in consonance with the spirit of the *sil-silah*. Besides, here they were taught, by precept and example, the most difficult of all human lessons—the subordination of human desires to moral and spiritual ideals. Common sufferings and penitences drew out the noblest qualities of their souls and made them understand the divine significance of life. The khānqahs and the *Jamā'at khānahs* of the middle ages consequently became an integral part of the mystic discipline.

THE INMATES

The *Jamā'at khānah* of Shaiḫ Farid—a large room, where his disciples slept, prayed and studied on the ground—was one of the greatest centres of spiritual culture in medieval India. Here one could see mystic principles being actually translated into practice. Spiritually starved people flocked to it from far and near. Let us introduce the reader to a few inmates of this *Jamā'at khānah*.

“Here is Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn, Ishāq once a great scholar of Dehli,¹ but now an humble servant of the Shaiḫ. He receives visitors, looks after the comfort of the inmates of the *Jamā'at khānah* and devotedly serves the Shaiḫ day and night.² He is a man of emotions and, do you see, tears are flowing from his eyes. When he bows in *sijdah*, his tears make the prayer-carpet wet.³

“Here is Sayyid Maḥmūd Kirmānī,⁴ once a flourishing businessman of Kirmān, now a starving disciple of the Shaiḫ. He used to come to

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 170.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 170-171.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 172.

⁴ He was the grandfather of the author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*.

Ajodhan to see the Shaiḵh. One day he decided, all of a sudden, to give up his life of affluence and plenty and settled here with his wife Bibī Rānī, daughter of a mint officer of Multān. Bibī Rānī is a lady of fervent piety. She looks after the comforts of the inmates of the *Jamā'at Kḥānah* as a sister looks after her brothers. One day she asked Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq: "Brother! If you stop weeping for a little while, I will put *surmā* (condimium) in your eyes." The Maulānā replied: "What am I to do, sister? My tears are not under my control¹." She is a very kind and affectionate lady. One day, on seeing Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā in grimy and tattered clothes, she gave a *chūdar* to him to cover his body and then washed his clothes and patched them.²

"Here is Nizām-u'd-dīn, a brilliant product of the academic institutions of Badā'un and Dehlī. He was expected to have a 'fine' career, but he has joined the discipline of the Shaiḵh and lives here like other inmates. The other day when he came here for the first time, the Shaiḵh ordered a cot to be provided for him. It was a rare honour that the Shaiḵh conferred on him. He is young in years but ripe in devotions. A few days back he met one of his class-fellows who was much surprised and shocked at his poverty,³ but he is so firm in his convictions that nothing can dissuade him from the path he has chosen for himself.

"Here is Ḥamid, once in the service of Malik Ṭuḡhril⁴ at Dehlī. It is interesting to know how he came to this *Jamā'at Kḥānah*. One day he was standing before his master, Ṭuḡhril, when he saw a figure (*ṣūrat*) which addressed him thus: "Ḥamid! Why are you standing before this man?" So saying the figure disappeared. He was perplexed at this. He saw the figure three times repeating the same question: "Ḥamid! Why do you stand before this man." He replied to the figure: "Why should I not stand before him? I am his servant. He is the master. He gives me my pay. Why should I not stand (before him)?" The figure replied: "You are a scholar; he is an ignorant man. You are a free man; he is a slave. You are a pious man; he is a sinner." He relinquished his service and came to this *Jamā'at Kḥānah*. Occasionally he delivers sermons,⁵ but usually he is busy in his devotions.

"Here is Maulānā Jamāl Hānswī, once a prosperous Khaṭīb, but now a starving disciple. He lives in Hānsī but often comes to this *Jamā'at*

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 171.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 115.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 239.

⁴ Ṭuḡhril was a Turkish slave of Sultān Balban. He was known for his generosity, courage and cleverness. The Sultān appointed him Governor of Lakhnautī where he rebelled and proclaimed himself a King with the title of Sultān Muḡhīth-u'd-dīn. Balban marched against him in person. He was ultimately beheaded. See *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 90-92.

⁵ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 204; *Siyar-u'l-Arifin* pp. 54-55.

Khānah.¹ As long as he stays here he performs all sorts of work along with his comrades and friends. He is one of the dearest disciples of the Shaikh.²

"Here is a *ṣūfī*. I do not know wherefrom he has come, but he is always busy in his devotions. One day his clothes were so dirty that Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq could not help asking him. "Why do you not wash your clothes?" But he kept quiet. After a few days the Maulānā again put the same question to him but a bit sternly. "Where is the leisure to wash these clothes?" he replied in a meek voice which excited pity. Maulānā Ishāq was so deeply touched at his words that he cannot look at him without being moved to tears.³

"Here is Naṣīr, a scholar who gave up his studies to join the *Jamā'at Khānah*. When he was admitted into the discipline his head was shaved but he felt so odd without his hair that one day he was found asking a *jogi* about some medicine for growing hair. He has been here for sometime and now he has so completely changed that the other day when Khwāja Waḥīd-u'd-dīn, a grandson of Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn, was shaved, he also got his head shaved.⁴

"Here is a former *nawīsindah* (clerk); he left his service, committed his family to the care of his brother and came to this *Jamā'at Khānah* to spend his time in prayers and penitences⁵."

The *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Farīd abounded in large number of such persons—former merchants, government servants, scholars, etc. Only a few inmates have been introduced here.⁶

MANAGEMENT OF THE JAMĀ'AT KHANAH

The *Jamā'at Khānah* was managed by the inmates themselves. They performed different duties. Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq used to go to the jungle and collect wood for the joint household. Maulānā Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hānswī's duty was to pluck *delah* from the *Kareel* trees. Maulānā Hussām-u'd-dīn had to fetch water and wash the utensils of the kitchen.⁷ The entire household rejoiced when the efforts of these people succeeded in providing a square meal for the inmates of the *Jamā'at Khānah*. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya used to say⁸ :

"در آن شب که ذیله ... در خانه شیخ سیرمی خوردیم مارا روز عید بودی"

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 42.

² See infra Chapter XIII.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 244.
Siyar-u'l-Auliya, p. 420.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 238.

⁵ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 147.

⁶ When Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya reached the *Jamā'at Khānah* he found many *huffāz* and scholars sleeping on the ground. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 107.

⁷ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 74; *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 188; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 86-209; *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, pp. 61-62.

⁸ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 150.

But when sufficient food could not be procured the Shaiḳh permitted his disciples to circulate his *zanbīl*¹ (a bowl made of dried and hollow gourd) amongst the neighbours. No earlier saint of the Chishtī Silsilah had ever permitted or approved of the practice of circulating *zanbīl*. It seems that Bābā Farid permitted his disciples to circulate it when reduced to extremes; and in preference to the practice of borrowing money. The Shaiḳh never permitted his disciples to incur any debt. Once a servant purchased salt on credit. The Shaiḳh refused to partake of the food prepared from that salt.²

Once Shaiḳh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya was staying in the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaiḳh Farid. He was assigned the duty of boiling *delahs* brought from the jungle by his comrades. One day when boiling the *delahs* he found that there was no salt available in the *Jamā'at Khānah*. He went to a neighbouring grocer and purchased some salt on credit. When the dish was ready, Shaiḳh Nizām-u'd-dīn placed it before the Shaiḳh. As soon as the saint put his hand into the dish he said: "May hand has become heavier. May be that I am not permitted to take the morsel to my mouth. Perhaps there is some doubtful thing in it." So saying the Shaiḳh put the morsel back into the dish. Shaiḳh Nizām-u'd-dīn trembled as he heard these words. He stood up, placed his head on the ground and humbly submitted: "My master! Shaiḳh Jalāl, Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq and Maulānā Hussām-u'd-dīn bring wood, *delah* and water for the kitchen. This poor fellow boils the *delah* and takes full care in its preparation, and brings it before the master. There seems to me nothing to doubt about it. But the reality is known to the master." The Shaiḳh asked about the salt. Shaiḳh Nizām-u'd-dīn again placed his head on the ground and explained the position. Bābā Farid then remarked:

”درویشان اگر بفاقمه میرند از برائی لذت نفس قرض نگیرند، زیرا که قرض و توکل بعد المشرقین است، بهم راست نیاید“

(The *dervishes* prefer dying of starvation to incurring any debt for the satisfaction of their (baser) desires. Debt and Resignation are poles apart and cannot subsist together).

After this admonition the Shaiḳh ordered him to remove that dish from the *Jamā'at Khānah*.³

There were times when the Shaiḳh was in such indigent circumstances that he could not provide even a dinner-cloth and people had to take their meals on the ground.⁴

¹ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 150; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 66.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 66; *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 62.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 66.

Siyar-u'l-Arifin, p. 62.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 55.

VISITORS AND THEIR PROBLEMS

The *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaiḵh Farid remained open till midnight.¹ All types of people—scholars, politicians, soldiers, Hindu *jogis*, qalandars—visited it. They came with different objects. The Shaiḵh attended to the individual problem of every visitor and welcomed the strangers and the acquaintance with equal warmth and affection.² His conversation was inspiring; every one who happened to talk with him found himself captivated.

The following incidents and stories selected from the earliest accounts will give some idea of the atmosphere that prevailed in the *Jamā'at Khānah* and the problems that the people brought to the Shaiḵh.

(i) Once a man started from Dehli in order to repent before Shaiḵh Farid in Ajodhan. On the way a female singer joined the caravan. The woman was a bad character. She designed to become intimate with the man who constantly avoided being entangled in her amorous advances. But, at one stage of their journey, the man and the woman had to mount the same cart and the woman found an opportunity of enticing him. As soon as the man extended his hand towards her, a man appeared to him (in a vision) and slapped him. "You are going to Shaiḵh Farid in order to repent," he said, "What is this?" The man was horrified and he did not look at the woman again. When he reached the *Jamā'at Khānah*, the first thing that Shaiḵh Farid said to him was: "God protected you well on that day."³ This man who came for repentance brought a problem for the Shaiḵh: How to make this 'repentance' effective and how to prevent the recurrence of such incidents in his life?

(ii) A tax-collector with whom the governor of Ajodhan was extremely displeased came to the Shaiḵh and requested him to intercede in the matter. The Shaiḵh sent his servant⁴ to the governor with a polite message: "Please forgive this worried tax-collector for the sake of this *durwesh*⁵."

(بمنت این درویش ازین نویسنده دلریش معذرت بایه بود)

The governor turned a deaf ear to the Shaiḵh's request. The tax-collector again came to the Shaiḵh worried and perplexed. "I appealed for you to the governor," the Shaiḵh told him, "but he has paid no attention to my request. May be, you have also, in your turn, been equally indifferent to the appeals of the unfortunate." The tax-collector

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 74; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 64.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 74; *Siyar-u'l Auliya* p. 65.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 219-220; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 85.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, (p. 147) has کسی را جانب والی فرستاد
The *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, (p. 38) has خادمی را بدان والی فرستاد

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 38.

expressed his repentance and submitted : "I promise I will not be harsh to any one in future even if he happens to be my enemy¹."

(iii) Shams, a native of Sunnām, came to the Jamā'at Khānah and recited a qaṣidah with the Shaiḫ's permission. "What do you want?" the Shaiḫ asked him as soon as he finished his qaṣidah. "I have to look after an aged mother and have financial worries," submitted Shams. The Shaiḫ asked him to bring something for distribution among the needy and the poor. Shams presented 50 jitals which were distributed amongst those present. The Shaiḫ then prayed for his prosperity. Shams got an appointment as dabīr² in the service of Sultan Balban's son, Bughrā Khān.

(iv) One day an aged man came to Shaiḫ Farid and, while introducing himself reminded him that he had met him in the Khānqah of Shaiḫ Quṭb-u'd-dīn Baḫtiyār Kākī. The old man was accompanied by his son who was extremely disrespectful and insolent. He entered into an acrimonious discussion with the Shaiḫ and began to shout loudly. Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā and the saint's son, Maulāna Shihāb-u'd-dīn, were at the door. When they heard the lad talking insolently to the saint, Maulāna Shihāb-u'd-dīn entered the room and gave a slap on the face of the boy. The boy lost his temper and was about to strike at Maulāna Shihāb-u'd-dīn that Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā caught hold of his hands. The Shaiḫ ordered this son Maulāna Shihāb-u'd-dīn to please the visitors. The Maulāna gave some cloth and money to both the father and the son who left the Jamā'at Khānah happy and satisfied.³

(v) One day a man came to the Shaiḫ and requested him to do something to remove his misery and poverty. The Shaiḫ advised him to recite Surah-i-Juma' every night.⁴

(vi) A poorly dressed durwesh came to the Shaiḫ who gave him something and permitted him to depart. The durwesh remained standing and asked the Shaiḫ to give him the comb which he had taken out from its cover and placed on the prayer-carpet. As the comb was not worth anything and had been long used by the Shaiḫ, he did not reply to the request. The durwesh began to shout loudly. "If the Shaiḫ gives me this comb, he will receive plenty of blessings."

¹ *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* pp 38-39.

Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād, p. 147.

Many people brought such problems to the Shaiḫ. See *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 236-38.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 127.

Siyar-u'l-'Arifin, p. 54.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 160.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 57.

"Be off," he replied, "and do not disturb me any more. I throw you and your blessings into the river¹."

(vii) A *qalandar* came to the *Jamū'at Khānah* at the time when the *Shaiḫh* was busy in his devotions in his room. He sat down on the *Shaiḫh*'s prayer-carpet which was lying outside the *hujrah*. Maulāna Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq entertained the visitor and brought food for him. Having enjoyed the food, the *qalandar* took out some hemp-leaves from his leathern bag and began to prepare a mixture. Some drops fell on the *Shaiḫh*'s prayer-carpet. Maulāna Badr-u'd-dīn stepped forward and tried to stop the *qalandar* from polluting the *Shaiḫh*'s prayer-carpet. The *qalandar* got enraged and was about to hit the *kachkol* on Maulāna Ishāq that *Shaiḫh* Farīd rushed out from his room and caught the *qalandar*'s hand. "Forgive him for my sake", said *Shaiḫh* Farīd. "The dervishes do not raise their hands," replied the *qalandar*, "but when they do so they do not take them down." "Throw it on that wall," said *Shaiḫh* Farīd. The *qalandar* threw the *kachkol* on a wall which fell down instantly.²

CROWD FOR TA'WİZ

Large crowds gathered everyday in the *Jamū'at Khānah* of *Shaiḫh* Farīd for *ta'wiz* (amulets).³ One day *Shaiḫh* Farīd submitted to his *pir* *Shaiḫh* Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī: "People demand *ta'wiz* from me. What is your order? Should I write and give (them)?" "Power to get a work done lies neither in your hand nor in mine", replied *Shaiḫh* Qutb-u'd-dīn, "*Ta'wiz* contains the name of God and the Word of God (Qur'ānic verse). Do write and do give to the people⁴." From that time the *Shaiḫh* began to distribute *ta'wiz* to the people, but it was very difficult for him to write so many *ta'wiz* with his own hand. He had, therefore, assigned this work to Maulāna Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq. One day, when the Maulāna was not present in the *Jamū'at Khānah*, the *Shaiḫh* ordered *Shaiḫh* Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya to prepare *ta'wiz*. As the number of supplicants was very large, *Shaiḫh* Nizām-u'd-dīn got tired of writing them. The *Shaiḫh* said: "I give thee permission to write amulets and give them to the people⁵."

¹ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 202.

It is said that on his way back from the *Jamū'at Khānah* this *durwesh* got drowned in a river which flowed near the town.

² *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 130-131.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 200.

So deep was the faith of the people in amulets that they came to the *Jamū'at Khānah* from distant places for this purpose. Once when *Shaiḫh* Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya started for Ajodhan, a neighbour, Muḥammad, who had a serious ailment, requested him to bring an amulet for him from *Shaiḫh* Farīd. When *Shaiḫh* Nizām-u'd-dīn placed Muḥammad's request before his master, the latter asked him to write a *ta'wiz* on his behalf. *Shaiḫh* Nizām-u'd-dīn wrote the following Names of God on a piece of paper and presented it before the *Shaiḫh* who touched it, read it and gave it back to him to be handed over to Muḥammad. (الله الشافي الله الكافي الله المعافي)

Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād, p. 62.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 200.

⁵ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 200.

One day a hair fell from the beard of the Shaiikh. Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya respectfully picked it up and used it as *ta'wiz* with the permission of the Shaiikh.¹

Sometimes the Shaiikh asked the supplicants to bring sweets. It was generally believed that the Shaiikh's asking for sweets meant the fulfilment of the supplicant's desire.² The Shaiikh sometimes recommended the recitation of Qur'ānic Verses or other religious formulae³ as well as the performance of certain prayers for the fulfilment of their desires and the removal of their complaints.⁴ One day he asked his disciples in the *Jamā'at Khānah* to recite one lac times the *Surah-i-Fatiḥah*⁵ for his recovery from illness.⁶

INITIATION

Amir Khurd has briefly described the manner in which Shaiikh Farid admitted people into his discipleship. He asked every new entrant to recite first of all the *Surah-i-Fatiḥah*, the *Surah-i-Ikhlāṣ*⁷ and a few other sacred texts. Then he told him to confirm that he owed allegiance to him, his spiritual master, the elders of his *silsilah* and the Prophet of Islam. Later on, he asked him⁸ :

باحضرت عزت عبد کردی کہ دست و پائی و چشم نگا ہداری و برنیم شرع باشی

(Solemnly promise to God that you will control your hands,
your feet and your eyes and will follow the path of *Shari'at*).

When the Shaiikh bestowed his *Khirqah* (patched frock usually given to those disciples who were permitted to enrol disciples) on any body he recited the sentence :

ولباس التقوی ذالک خیر والعاقبة للمتقین

(This is the dress of piety and the fruits of the next
world are for the pious.)⁹

The Shaiikh advised the recipients of *Khirqah* not to annoy anybody with their hands, eyes or tongues. He exhorted them to fix their hearts on Him alone and devote all their time to mystic contemplation and scrupulously avoid being involved in evil desires.¹⁰

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 63.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 127.

³ Shaiikh Farid instructed Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya to repeat a formula and said :

این دعا را یادگیر و مواظبت نمائی تا قرا خایفم خرد گردانم

(Commit this prayer to memory and repeat it so that I may appoint you my successor). *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 116.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 57. See also pp. 25-26, 57-59. The Shaiikh teaches a particular prayer to Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and then asks him to repeat it before him several times.

⁵ *Qur'ān*, S. I.

⁶ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 57.

⁷ *Qur'ān*, S. CXII.

⁸ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 323.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 323.

Shaving the head¹ (*Mahlūq kardan*) of a new entrant to the mystic discipline was a popular practice amongst the Chishtīs. It was considered to be an external expression of a disciple's determination to sacrifice his all in the way of God. Sometimes Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq shaved the heads of the new disciples.

FUTŪḤ AND ITS DISTRIBUTION

Enormous *futūḥ*² came to the *Jamā'at Khānah* of *Shaiḫh* Farīd. Almost every visitor who came to see him brought something for him.³ It was the practice of the *Shaiḫh* to give every visitor something out of the presents which others had brought.⁴ Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq had to look after the proper distribution of *futūḥ*. The *Shaiḫh*'s orders were to distribute everything that came to the *Jamā'at Khānah* and not to keep anything for the morrow as it meant lack of trust in God and a negation of the principle of *tawakkul*.

THE SUHRAWARDĪ KHĀNQAḤ—A CONTRAST

Not very far from Ajodhan was the *Khānqaḥ* of *Shaiḫh* Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā in Multān. Conditions in the Suhrawardī centre were entirely different from the Chishtī *Jamā'at Khānah*. It had an aristocratic air both as to its structure and organization.

Shaiḫh Bahā-u'd-dīn's *Khānqaḥ* was a sumptuous place. It covered an extensive area and was well-furnished. Separate accommodation was provided for every inmate and for the numerous visitors who flocked to it. On the contrary the *Khānqaḥ*—or more appropriately the *Jamā'at Khānah*—of *Shaiḫh* Farīd was a cosmopolitan affair. All people, inmates as well as visitors, lived in a big hall, prayed there and slept there. *Shaiḫh* Bahā-u'd-dīn's *Khānqaḥ* was not open to every one.⁵ Only those whom the *Shaiḫh* considered worthy of his attention were allowed to stay there. The Chishtī *Jamā'at Khānah* had an open kitchen. Any one and everyone who

¹ For mystic explanation of this practice, see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 161.

² The medieval Muslim mystics believed in two means of livelihood. . . . *Zamīn-i-Iḥyā*, the produce of waste land which the mystic and his family cultivated, and *Futūḥ*, gifts and presents which people brought to his house unasked. The Chishtī mystics preferred *Futūḥ* to *Zamīn-i-Iḥyā* because the latter brought the mystic into contact with the government and its officials. But strict rules were laid down with regard to the acceptance of *Futūḥ*. There was to be no begging for it and it was to be spent the moment it arrived. See

Fawā'id u'l Fu'ād, p. 124-125; 41.

Siyar u'l-Auliya, p. 560-561.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 200.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 160.

Siyar-u'l-Auliya pp. 131, 66.

⁵ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 136.

happened to be there was welcomed to every meal.¹ The Suhrawardī saint, no doubt, loved good food and also loved to see others enjoy it,² but he never kept an open table.³ Only those who were invited could take food at his table. The Suhrawardī *khwīnqah* had permanent stocks of grain. There were granaries, coffers and treasuries in the *Khūnqah* of *Shaiḵh* Bahā-u'd-dīn.⁴ The *Jamā'at Khānah* of *Shaiḵh* Farid and no such provision.

Shaiḵh Bahā-u'd-dīn never allowed the common people to visit his *khwīnqah*. "I have nothing to do with the generality of the public⁵," he is reported to have said. On the other hand all sorts of people were welcomed at the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Bābā Farid.⁶

Shaiḵh Bahā-u'd-dīn was not accessible to people at all times. He had fixed hours and no one could disturb him at any other time. On the other hand, *Shaiḵh* Farid was accessible to all people at all times.

Bābā Farid lived under such straitened circumstances that he could not provide even proper food to his children who had to starve very often. The position of *Shaiḵh* Bahā-u'd-dīn was entirely different. He had the resources of a medieval *Iqṭa'dūr*.⁷ His sons were provided with all that wealth could offer. He engaged tutors and teachers for his sons, and paid them good allowances.⁸

¹ The Chishtī saint considered it a moral obligation to entertain every visitor. If nothing was available in his house, he would sell his prayer-carpet or his wife's *chādar*, but would not disappoint his visitor. (See *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 75).

See also *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, (pp. 73-74) how Bābā Farid grinds millet with his own hand and then cooks bread for a *durwesh*.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 105.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 136.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 223-224.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 136.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 74.

⁷ *Ibid*, 223.

⁸ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 223;

Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām, p. 59.

CHAPTER XI

Last Days and Death

It was Muḥarram 5,664 A. H. (October 15, 1265). The aged saint whose health had completely broken down¹ as the result of constant fasts, vigils and penitences, lay on his bed suffering from an acute intestinal disease.² He rose up to offer his 'Ishā prayer with the congregation at night. Soon afterwards he became unconscious. An atmosphere of gloom and anxiety hung over the entire *Jamā'at Khānah* and the mosque where he had been for years the centre of all religious activities. All of a sudden he opened his eyes and asked: "Have I offered my prayer?" "Yes", replied the attendants. "Let me offer my prayer once again. Who knows what is going to happen?" The saint again offered his prayer and then fell into a state of deep coma. A little later he woke up again, startled and worried and put the same question to his attendants and offered his 'Ishā prayer for the third time. As soon as he finished his prayer, he became unconscious again and with his lips softly uttering *يا حي يا قيوم* (O The Living and the Immortal) he went into eternal sleep.³ He was the last of the four great saints of the generation who died one after the other at an intervals of three years.⁴ *Shaiḫ* Sa'd-u'd-dīn Ḥamwī⁵ was the first to depart for the world beyond. Three

¹ He was so weak at this time that he could not stand for his supererogatory prayers and had to offer them in the sitting posture. (*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p. 184.) During the last Ramaḍān of his life the *Shaiḫ* could not observe obligatory fasts due to illness. (*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 52).

² This fatal malady was *Khalaḥ*. Literally the word means any sharp, piercing thing, as a needle or awl. Technically it means wind in the bowels causing acute pain. See also, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 292-293.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 91.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 130.

Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya once told his audience: "How blessed were the times when these five saints were alive—*Shaiḫ* Abū'l Ghaith Yemenī, *Shaiḫ* Saif-u'd-dīn Bākhārzi, *Shaiḫ* Sa'd-u'd-dīn Ḥamwī, *Shaiḫ* Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā and *Shaiḫ* u'l-Islām Farīd-u'd-dīn". (*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 221). Amīr Khurd writes:

شیخ اعظم فرید ملت و دین .: شیخ ابوالغیت و شیخ سیف الدین
شیخ سعدی حمویہ شیخ الوقت .: شیخ صاحب نفس بہاء الدین
بود ہر پنج پیر در یک عصر .: ہر یکی بادشاہ دنیا و دین

⁵ Muhammad bin Al-Muwayyid bin Abī Bakr bin Abī al-Ḥasan bin Muhammad bin Ḥamwī (ob. 625 A. H./1227 A. D. according to *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns*; 658 A. H./1259 A. D. according to *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*; 649 A. H./1251 A. D. according to *Mujmal-i-Fasiḥ*; 656 A. H./1258 according to calculation based on *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*). He was an eminent disciple of *Shaiḫ* Najm-u'd-dīn Kubra (ob. 1226 A. D.), and had close contacts with *Shaiḫ* Muḥī-u'd-dīn Ibn-i-'Arabī and *Shaiḫ* Sadr-u'd-dīn Qūnwi. He was a prolific writer and some of his books, e.g. *Ulūm-u'l-Haqā'iq wa Hikam-u'l-Daqā'iq* (Cairo), are still held in high esteem in mystic circles. His tomb is in Bāhrabād. For brief notices, see, *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah* ed. Browne; *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns* pp. 277-278; *Majālis-u'l-Ushshāq*, (published by Newal Kishore in 1314 A. H.) pp. 78-80; *Tārīkh-i-Taḥawwuf dar-Islām*, Dr. Qāsim Ḡhanī pp. 392, 431, 496, 503, 545, 547.

years later died Shaiikh Saif-u'd-dīn Bākharzī,¹ and three years after the later's expiry passed away Shaiikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā.² Three years after him Bābā Farid expired.

A few days before Shaiikh Farid's death Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī reached Ajodhan from Dehli. He found the ailing saint lying on a cot inside the *hujrah*, while, outside it, his sons and disciples were busy discussing the problem of his successor. Sayyid Muḥammad was eager to pay his respects to the Shaiikh but the Shaiikh's sons prevented him from doing so with the remark: "This is not the time (to see him)". Indifferent to what they said, the Sayyid pushed open the doors of the *hujrah* and fell at the feet of the saint. The Shaiikh opened his eyes and asked affectionately "How are you Sayyid? How and when did you come here?" "This very moment", replied Sayyid Muḥammad. He thought of conveying the respects of Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya just after this reply but the fear of being misunderstood by the Shaiikh's sons dissuaded him from doing so. "If I will start with a reference, to Sultān-u'l-Mashāikh (Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya)," he said to himself, "Shaiikh-e-Shuyukh-i-'Alam (i.e. Shaiikh Farid) would certainly confer his blessings on him and this thing would annoy the sons of Shaiikh-i-Kabir (i.e. Shaiikh Farid)". The Sayyid talked about other saints of Dehli first and then casually referred to Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and conveyed his respects. On hearing Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn's name the Shaiikh eagerly enquired: "How is he? Is he happy"? Then the Shaiikh entrusted to Sayyid Muḥammad all the articles of mystic regalia-cloak, prayer-carpet and staff and instructed him to deliver them to Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. It was a great disappointment to the sons of the Shaiikh and they furiously quarrelled with Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī for having deprived them of the most precious thing in their father's possession.³

In his last moments Bābā Farid was anxious to meet his son, Khiwāja Nizām-u'd-dīn, who was an officer in the army of Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban and lived at Patiali, and his favourite disciple, Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. "Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn!" the Shaiikh cried in his last moments, "But he is in Dehli!" Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn had left for Dehli in the month of Shawwāl and the saint had told him that he

¹ Shaiikh Saif-u'd-dīn (ob. 658 A.H./1259 according to *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*), a native of Bākharz (between Naināpur and Herat, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 357) was a disciple of Shaiikh Najm-u'd-dīn Kubra who had sent him to Bukhāra where he propagated the mystic principles and gathered round him a large number of disciples. He was the founder of the Firdausi *Silsilah*. He lies buried in Bukhāra. For brief notices, see *Tārīkh-i-Guridāh*, p. 791; *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, p. 278 *Ḥabīb-u's-Siyar*, (Bombay 1857) p. 36.

² Shaiikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyya (ob. 661 A.H./1262 A.D.), was an eminent disciple of Shaiikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī (ob. 1234 A.D.) He laid the foundations of the Suhrawardī *Silsilah* in Multān and Upper Sind. For brief notices, *Fawā'id-ul-Fu'ād*, pp. 5, 6, 10, 20 etc.; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn* pp. 103-129; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 26-27.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* pp. 121-122.

would not be present at the time of his death as he himself had not been present at the time of his master's death.

Referring to his son, the Shaikh said in his last moments; "Nizām-u'd-dīn is coming, but what is the use of his coming if I am not going to meet him". Nizām-u'd-dīn saw his father in a dream at Patiali and started for Ajodhan. When he reached Ajodhan it was sunset; the city gates had already been closed and he stayed in an inn outside the city walls. Next morning when he entered the city he saw the funeral of his father being brought out. The Shaikh's descendants had decided to bury him in a graveyard outside the city where many martyrs lay buried and where the Shaikh himself used to spend much of his time in prayers and meditation. Nizām-u'd-dīn, with a worldly wisdom born of close contact with the government of the day, shrewdly dissuaded his brothers from burying the saint outside the city. "If the Shaikh is buried outside the city walls," he told his brothers and relatives, "people will come there, pray at the tomb and depart. Who will then take notice of the Shaikh's family." Nizām-u'd-dīn's advice was readily accepted. The funeral was brought back to the Shaikh's house and he was buried at the place where his tomb stands to-day.¹

Bābā Farīd died as he had lived without worldly means. There was nothing in his house with which to purchase his shroud.² Amīr Khurd's grandmother gave a white sheet to cover his coffin.³ The door of his house was pulled down to provide unbaked bricks for his grave.⁴ The man whose offer of constructing a *puccā* house for the Shaikh was refused by Bābā Farīd, built a dome over his grave. This tomb was later repaired by Firuz Shāh Tughlaq.⁵

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 89-91.

² While giving these details to his audience Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya recited the following couplet:

پنبه حلاج را رسم کفن داری نبود .: خانم بردوش فلان سامان داری هم نداشت

Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd, 212.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 89.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 212.

⁵ *The Punjab Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 5.

CHAPTER XII

Descendants of Baba Farid

Shaiḵh Farīd had five sons and three daughters. Their names are given as follows in the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya'*¹:

1. Khawāja Naṣīr-u'd-dīn
 2. Khawāja Shihāb-u'd-dīn
 3. Shaiḵh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān
 4. Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn
 5. Shaiḵh Ya'qūb
 6. Bibi Mastūrah
 7. Bibi Sharīfah
 8. Bibi Fāṭimah
1. Khawāja Naṣīr-u'd-dīn²:

Khawāja Naṣīr-u'd-dīn was the eldest son of Bābā Farīd. The author of *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* says that he was an adopted son of the Shaiḵh, but there is no justification for accepting this view. 'Alī Aṣḡhar has mentioned some very dirty and scandalous stories about the sons of the Shaiḵh, simply in an attempt to prove the saint's extraordinary miraculous powers. These stories deserve no credence and should be rejected as mere bazar gossip.³

Khawāja Naṣīr was a pious and devoted saint. Like Shaiḵh Ḥamid-u'd-dīn Sawālī Nāgaurī he preferred to live by cultivating the soil to depending on *Futūḥ*.⁴ He had one son, Shaiḵh Bāyazīd, who was as pious and sincere in his devotions as his father. Shaiḵh Bāyazīd's son, Shaiḵh Kamāl-u'd-dīn settled in Dhar and propagated the *Chishtī Silsilah* in

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya'* p. 186.

² For biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya'*, p. 186; *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS); *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS), 556; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 69; *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* (MS) Bāb II Faṣl III. *Ma'ārif-u'l-Walāyat*, (MS) Vol. I p. 269 *Maṭlūb-u'l-Talībīn* (MS), ff 99 b-100 a.

³ For details see *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī*, Bāb 2 Faṣl III. Such stories reveal the utter lack of historical sense and the spiritual impoverishment of the author. He understood mysticism at a very low level and shut his eyes completely to canons of critical evaluation as propounded by the eminent Muslim scholars of the middle ages.

⁴ Amīr Khurd writes about him:

روزگار بعبادت باری تعالی و به زراعت و حرثت که لقمه حلال
است گذرانیده و خدای تعالی را در خلا و ملا طاعت کرد

Siyar-u'l-Auliya', p. 186.

(He spent his life in praying God and in cultivating the soil which is a sanctioned way of acquiring livelihood. He prayed God in loneliness and in company.)

that region. Shaiikh Kamāl was a favourite disciple and Khalifah of Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya.¹

2. Khwāja Shihāb-u'd-dīn² :

The second son of Bābā Farīd was named after the author of '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*'.³ He was an erudite scholar and even the great Shaiikh admired his charming and persuasive conversations. He lived in the *Jam'at Khānah* of the saint and passed his days as a mystic devoted to prayer and penitence.⁴ Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya's relations with him were most cordial.⁵ No detailed information about Shaiikh Shihāb is available in contemporary or semi-contemporary works. 'Alī Aṣghar says that he had six sons : Shaiikh Ḥussām-u'd-dīn, Shaiikh 'Abd-u'l Ḥamid, Shaiikh Mas'ūd, Shaiikh Muḥammad, Shaiikh 'Alī Sher and Shaiikh Jamshēd.⁶ Descendants of these sons of Shaiikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn settled in Dehli, Fatehpur, Chandwar, Jaunpur, Tānda, Sirsa, Rohtāsarh, Phulwāri and some other places in Bihār and Bengāl.

3. Shaiikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān⁷ :

He was the third son of Bābā Farīd. The Shaiikh's family decided to place him on the *Sajjādah* of the saint.⁸ He is reported to have received *Khilāfat* directly from the saints of *Chisht*.⁹ It is said that there was some controversy about mystic succession in *Chisht*. Khwāja Zoor and Khwāja Ghaur came to Dehli from *Chisht* in order to persuade Shaiikh 'Alī *Chishtī*, to return to his home and ascend the *sajjādah* of his deceased brother. Balban had great regard for Shaiikh 'Alī and threatened to abdicate if the saint left Dehli.¹⁰ The two

¹ Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya gave a coin to him and ordered him to settle in Mālwah (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 198). He became immensely popular in that region and people flocked to him from far and near. Sultān Maḥmūd Khalji constructed a beautiful tomb over his grave and made a grant of jūgīr to his *Khānqah* (See *Gulzar-i-Abrār*, MS).

² For brief notices, see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 75; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 186-189; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 69-70; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār*, (MS), pp. 555-557; *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* (MS), *Bāb 2 Faṣl III*; *Ma'ārij u'l-Walāyat*. (MS). Vol. I. pp. 269-270; *Maṭlūb u'l-Ṭalībīn* (MS) f. 100 a.

³ Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya informs us that he was born on the day when the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*' was first brought before the Shaiikh. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p. 75.

⁴ Muḥammad Bulāq *Chishtī*'s statement that شيخ شهاب الدين لشكر پيشم بود *Maṭlūb-u'l-Ṭalībīn* (MS) f. 100 a. is not supported by earlier authorities.

⁵ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 75; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 187.

⁶ *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* (MS). *Bāb 2 Faṣl III*.

⁷ For brief notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* pp. 188-189; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* p. 70; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS) p. 557; *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* (MS), *Bāb 2 Faṣl III*. *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol. I pp. 270-271. *Maṭlūb-u'l-Ṭalībīn* (MS) f. 100 a.

⁸ No contemporary or semi-contemporary authority refers to his having received *Khilāfat* from his father. This is an unfortunate but significant omission.

⁹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 188-189.

¹⁰ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 212.

Diā-u'd-dīn Baranī says that Balban had great faith in saints and divines (*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 46). He has named some divines who were held in high esteem by the Sultān. Shaiikh 'Alī's name does not occur in this list.

The author of *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS p. 557) and *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat* (MS Vol. I p. 271) have remarked that Balban was the disciple of Shaiikh 'Alī. No earlier authority corroborates this statement.

emissaries passed through Ajodhan. Shaiḵh Farīd gave them a hearty welcome, and requested them to place two caps, which were provided by the saint himself, on the heads of his sons, Shaiḵh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān and Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn.¹

Shaiḵh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān was succeeded by his son Shaiḵh 'Alā-u'd-dīn² who was only 16 when he sat on the *sajjādah* of his father. For more than half a century³ he graced the Khānqah of Shaiḵh Farīd and attracted people from far and near. His fame had travelled upto Alexandria.⁴ His continuous fasts, prayers, vigils and penitences have been praised by Amīr Khusraw, Amīr Khurd, Dīā-u'd-dīn Baranī and others. Amīr Khusraw writes about him :

علائی دنیا و دین شیخ و شیخ زادۀ عصر :. که شد بموتمم قایم مقام شیخ فرید
ز تاب نور تعالی چو کرد رویش عرق :. هزار چشمۀ خورشید از جبین بچکید
مگر که دید نریا بلندی قدرش :. که تا قیامت خواهد بر آسمان خندید
خهی بروشنی از بدر زادۀ خورشیدی :. ز بدر زادن خورشید تابدار که دید
چو صاکنان سپهر از حوادث ایمن گشت :. کسبکم در پیم ذیل عصمت تو خزید
ز بهر سبکۀ نو چرخ مهرۀ زانجم کرد :. ز مشغوری رگ جاننش بوائی رستم کشید
زهی نکفتم شب در سواد مدحت تو :. چو پیر در شب قدر و چو طفل در شب بید
حیات بخش جهانی دم مسیحتی تست
چه هد گفتن خسرو که عمر تو بمزید⁵

Dīā-u'd-dīn Baranī calls him "an embodiment of virtue and devotions,"⁶ and says that he was one of the great blessings that were vouchsafed to India in the reign of Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khalji. He fasted continuously and, with the exception of the two 'Id days and the three days of Tashrīq,⁷ nobody ever saw him eating anything in the day.⁸ He never stepped out of his Khānqah except for Friday prayers.⁹ "The reputation of Shaiḵh 'Alā-u'd-dīn," the author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* informs us, "for spiritual greatness spread in the world during his life-time and his sacred name came to be reckoned among the great saints.

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 188-189.

It is said about Shaiḵh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān that he did not shave his head (*Mahluq na bud*) like the Chishtī saints of India, but grew long locks and parted them from the middle (*farq kard*) like the Shaiḵh of Chisht. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 188.

² For biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* pp. 193-196; *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, Baranī, p. 347; *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* (MS) p. 170; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 94-95; *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol. I pp. 273-274.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 193; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 95.

⁴ *Rehlah*, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. II. p. 13.

The Moorish traveller could not remember his name correctly and has confused him with his grandfather, Shaiḵh Farīd.

⁵ Cited by Shaiḵh 'Abd-u'l-Ilāq Muḥaddith in *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* pp. 94-95.

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 347. The anonymous author of *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* says that he spent his whole life in *dhikr* and prayers (MS. p. 170)

⁷ Three days after the feast of sacrifice at Mecca. Fasting on the 'Id and the Tashrīq days is not permitted.

⁸ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 194.

⁹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 194.

Thus in Ajodhan, Dipalpur and the hills on the side of Kashmīr, the people, out of their excessive love and faith, have put up buildings and constructed cenotaphs which they call his mausoleums; they accept offerings, distribute charities and complete the recitations of the *Qur'ān*.¹

Whenever any body expressed his desire to be enrolled as his disciple, Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn said: "Take him to Bābā's (i. e. Shaikh Farid's) grave and give him the mystic cap."² Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq was so deeply impressed by his piety that he became his disciple.³ In his days the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Farid became a haven of refuge for the victims of cruelty and oppression. Amīr Khurd tells us that so great was the saint's awe and fear that even the Sultān could not touch those persons who took shelter in his *Jamā'at Khānah*.⁴

One very significant anecdote about Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn is mentioned in the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*. Shaikh Rukn-u'd-dīn Multānī, a leading Suhrawardī saint of India, once visited the tomb of Bābā Farid on his way back from Dehli to Multān.⁵ As he was coming out of the tomb, he met Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn and embraced him and said: "God has given you such firmness that no one can move you from your place, but I am harried from place to place owing to some relatives who are attached to this world." When Shaikh Rukn-u'd-dīn left the place, Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn went home, bathed and changed his clothes.⁶ This was reported to Shaikh Rukn-u'd-dīn who said: "You do not know the status of Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn. It is permissible for him to behave like this. The smell of this world emanates from me while he leads a life free from this contamination."⁷

Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn was buried near the mausoleum of Bābā Farid. Muḥammad bin Tughlaq built a magnificent dome over his tomb.⁸

"چنانکه صیت عظمت و کرامت او هم در حیات عزیز او میان عالم منتشر شد و اسم مبارک او میان آسمانی اولیاء مذکور و مشهور گشت، چنانکه در دیار اجودهن و دیپالپور و جبالی که صمت کشمیر است خلق آن دیار از غایت محبت و اعتقاد مقامها ساختن اند و قبرها کرده و بنام روضه منبرکه او تیمن و تبرک می گیرند و در آن موضع صدقات و خدمات می کنند"

Siyar-u'l-Auliya, p. 193.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 194.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 196; *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 95; All the three great Tughlaq Sultāns had faith in Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn. See *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, *Shams-i-Siraj* 'Alif pp. 27, 371.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 196.

⁵ Ibn Baṭṭūṭah writes: "This Shaikh is afflicted with an apprehension of the uncleanness of others. And from this I seek the protection of God. He does not shake hands with any one and does not go near any one; and as soon as his garment touches that of another he washes it." (*The Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah*, Translated by Dr. A. M. Husain p. 20, Arabic Text Vol. II, p. 13. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah has used the word *وسواس* for the Shaikh's obsession.

⁶ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 195.

⁷ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 196.

⁸ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 196. *Rehlah Ibn Baṭṭūṭah* Vol. II p. 13. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah calls them "learned".

Shaiḵh 'Alā-u'd-dīn had two sons : Shaiḵh Mu'izz-u'd-dīn and Shaiḵh 'Alam-u'd-dīn¹. Shaiḵh Mu'izz-u'd-dīn was a pupil of Maulānā Wajīh-u'd-dīn Pā'ili.² He succeeded his father, but Muḥammad bin Tughlaq called him to Dehli and later on sent him to Gujrāt, where he was martyred by the rebels.³ Shaiḵh 'Alam-u'd-dīn was appointed Shaiḵh-u'l-Islām of Hindustān by Muḥammad bin Tughlaq who held him in high esteem.⁴ He lies buried by the side of his father.

Shaiḵh Mu'izz-u'd-dīn's son, Afdāl-u'd-dīn Fuḍail, succeeded his father as his *khālīfah* at Ajodhan. He had two sons Shaiḵh Munawwar and Shaiḵh Sa'd-u'd-dīn. The former succeeded his father.⁵ Shaiḵh 'Alam-u'd-dīn's son Shaiḵh Maẓhar-u'd-dīn was given the office of Shaiḵh-u'l-Islām after the death of his father.⁶

The descendants of Shaiḵh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān settled in different parts of the country. Some continued to live in Ajodhan, others migrated to Gujrāt. Some of the Farīdī families in Hyderabad trace their pedigree to Shaiḵh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān.

4. Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn⁷ :

He was the favourite son of the Shaiḵh⁸ and, according to Shaiḵh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehli, Bābā Farīd desired to make him the sole inheritor of his spiritual greatness.⁹ The Shaiḵh never resented his bold and frank talk before him.¹⁰ He possessed great worldly wisdom (*کیاست ظاہر*) and was known for his bravery. Amīr Khurd calls him *Haider-i-Thānī*.¹¹ He was a soldier in the army of Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban (664-686

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 196.

Maulānā Wajīh-u'd-dīn Pā'ili was a devoted disciple of Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. He was an eminent scholar of his age and few could rival him in his grasp and knowledge of the Muslim Law. It is said that once, when he visited the tomb of Shaiḵh Farīd, he heard a voice from the grave : "Welcome Abū Hanīfah Pā'ili." He lies buried in Dehli near the Haud-i-Shamsi. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 296. For brief notices, See *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 296-298; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 98; *Gulzar-i-Abrār* (MS).

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 196.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 196.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 197.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 197.

⁶ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 197.

⁷ For biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 189-190; *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 224; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 70; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS), pp. 557-558; *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* (MS) Bab 2 Farī III; *Ma'ūrij-u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol. I pp. 271-272. *Maṭlūb-u'l-Talībīn* (MS), f. 100 a.

⁸ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 189-190.

⁹ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 224.

It is said that once Shaiḵh Farīd was sailing in a boat with his sons and disciples. Everyone except the Shaiḵh and his disciple, Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, was asleep. All of a sudden the Shaiḵh called : "Nizām !" Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya who was awake replied : "I am present". "I mean my son Nizām-u'd-dīn", replied the Shaiḵh. After sometimes the Shaiḵh called : "Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn !" "I am present", replied Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. "Come here," asked Bābā Farīd, "Mas'ūd wanted to bless his son Nizām. God wants to bless thee".

¹⁰ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 189-190.

¹¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 190.

A. H./1266-1287 A. D.) and fell fighting against the Mongols in Ajodhan.¹ His body could not be discovered among the slain.² He had a son, Khwāja Ibrāhīm, who had married an aunt of Amīr Khurd. His son, Khwāja 'Azīz-u'd-dīn was educated by Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā and lived with him in his *Jamū'at Khānah*. Before the sons of Shaiḵh Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq, Muḥammad Imām and Khwāja Musa, reached the *Jamū'at Khānah* of Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā, it was the duty of 'Azīz-u'd-dīn to recite sacred verses before meals. The Shaiḵh nodded his head and said: "Blessings! Blessings!" He was buried at the foot of Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā's grave. Amīr Khurd also refers to a sister of his and her family.³

5. Shaiḵh Ya'qūb⁴:

He was the youngest son of Bābā Farīd. He had studied the *Qur'ān* with Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq. He possessed intuitive intelligence (*nafs-i-girā*) and was highly cultured and self-sacrificing. He had adopted the manners of the *malāmatis*⁵ mystics and lived in obscurity. The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā* says that he disappeared near Amroha.⁶

Shaiḵh Ya'qūb had two sons—Khwāja 'Azīz-u'd-dīn and Khwāja Qāḍī. Both of them were educated by Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā. Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā sent Khwāja 'Azīz-u'd-dīn to Deogīr,⁷ where he settled long before Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq's Deccan experiment. Years afterwards when Amīr Khurd reached Deogīr in the wake of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, he was very much impressed by the

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā*, p. 190. But the author of *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* says that there were two opinions about the death of Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn. Some said that he fell while fighting against the Mongols who had attacked Ajodhan; others said that he was in the army of Sulṭān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khālji and died in the Ranthambhor Campaign (MS. p. 558). See also *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol. I. p. 271.

² This is Amīr Khurd's statment (*Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā* p. 190). Maulānā 'Abd-u'r-Rahmān Chishtī (*Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* MS, p. 558) and Ghulām Mu'in-u'd-dīn (*Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat* MS, Vol. I. p. 271.) however say that he was buried in Ranthambhor and that his grave was visited by people.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā*, p. 199.

⁴ For brief biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā*, pp. 190-191, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 70; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS), p. 558; *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol. I pp. 272-273.

⁵ The *malāmatis* believe that the true worship of God is best proved by the contempt in which the devotee is held by his fellow men. On the basis of this argument they justify not only the total neglect of the religious injunctions of Islām, but commit the most outrageous sins in order to create contempt for themselves in the hearts of the people.

⁶ *Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā*, p. 191.

Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār, (MS) p. 558.

⁷ *Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā*, p. 198.

Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā ordered Shaiḵh Kamāl-u'd-dīn (see *Supra*) to proceed to Māwlah and Khwāja 'Azīz-u'd-dīn to proceed to Deogīr and put one *jalālī* (Gold Coin) each in their hands. "What purpose will this one *jalālī* serve?" Azīz-u'd-dīn asked his friend. "The Shaiḵh has given us *jalālī* (dignity)," replied Kamāl-u'd-dīn, "Keep your mind at rest."

spiritual greatness and prestige of Shaiḵh 'Aziz-u'd-dīn.¹ He was martyred in Deogir.² Khawāja Qāḍī lies buried on the *Chabūtrah-i-Yāran*.³

6. Bibi Mastūrah⁴:

She was devoted to prayers and penitence. She left two sons: Khawāja 'Aziz-u'd-dīn Ṣūfī and Khawāja Kabir-u'd-dīn. Both of them passed their lives in the *Jam'at khānah* of Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya who had very great love and affection for them.⁵ Khawāja 'Aziz-u'd-dīn was a pupil of Qāḍī Muḥī-u'd-dīn Kāshānī.⁶ He was an excellent calligraphist.⁷ He recorded the conversations of Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya under the title: *Tuḥfat-u'l-Abrār-fi-Karāmat-u'l-Akhyār*.⁸ The text of this *maḥfūz* was revised by the Shaiḵh himself. His son Quṭb-u'd-dīn Ḥasan received a *khilāfat Nāmah* from Shaiḵh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī and propagated the Chishtī mystic principles.⁹ Shaiḵh Kabir-u'd-dīn was, like his brother, devoted to prayers and penitence. Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya had a very high opinion about him.¹⁰

7. Bibi Sharīfah¹¹:

She became a widow in her early youth and did not marry again. She was intensely religious-minded and Bābū Farīd used to say: "Had it been permitted to give the *khilāfat Nāmah* of the Shaiḵh and his *Sajjādah* to a woman, I would have given them to Bibi Sharīfah.¹²" The Shaiḵh is also reported to have said with regard to her:

ولو كان النساء كمثل هذا الفضل النساء على الرجال¹³

(If other women had been like her, women would have taken precedence over men.)

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 197.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 197.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 197.

⁴ For biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 191; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS), p. 558; *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* (MS).

⁵ Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya was once displeased with Maulānā Wajih-u'd-dīn Pā'ili for having occupied in his *majlīs* a place higher than that of Khawāja 'Aziz-u'd-dīn, "descendant of my master." *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 202. See also *Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 95.

⁶ Qāḍī Muḥī-u'd-dīn Kāshānī was an eminent disciple and *Khalīfah* of Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. He was distinguished for his erudition and learning. For biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 294-296; *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 150-151; 202-3.

⁷ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 202; *Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 95.

⁸ This *maḥfūz* is extinct now.

⁹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 203.

¹⁰ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 203 (Addenda).

¹¹ For brief biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 191; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār*, pp. 558-9; *Gulzar-i-Abrār* (MS); *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* (MS).

¹² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 191.

¹³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 191.

8. Bibi Faṭimah :

She was married to Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq, a devoted disciple of Shaikh Farid. She had two sons: Khwāja Muḥammad Imām and Khwāja Mūsā. When Maulānā Ishāq died and the family was left destitute without anyone to look after it, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya sent Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmāni to Ajodhan to request Bibi Fāṭimah to come to Dehli and settle there. It was not long after Bibi Fāṭimah's arrival in Dehli that rumours began to circulate that Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya wanted to marry her. When Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn heard about this he was deeply shocked. He left for Ajodhan in distress and when he came back to Dehli, Bibi Fāṭimah was already dead.¹

Khwāja Muḥammad Imām and Khwāja Mūsā were educated under the fostering care of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. The former also received a *Khilāfat Nūmah* from Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. He used to admit disciples during the lifetime of the saint.²

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 192-193.

² For Khwāja Imām and Khwāja Mūsā, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 199-202.

CHAPTER XIII

Spiritual Successors of Baba Farid

The author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb* says that Bābā Farid had a very large number of *Khalifahs*.¹ Amīr Khurd, however, refers only to the following successors of the great saint :

1. Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil
2. Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq
3. Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hānswī
4. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya
5. Shaikh 'Ārif
6. Shaikh 'Alī Šābir
7. Maulānā Fakhr-u'd-dīn Šafāhānī.²

Later writers have added several other names to this list. Shaikh Allah Diyah and Maulānā Mu'in-u'd-dīn 'Abd-u'llah have referred to Shaikh Shams-u'd-dīn Turk Pānīpatī,³ Shaikh Wahārū,⁴ Shaikh Zain-u'd-dīn Damishqī,⁵ Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Raiz, Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Bār, Shaikh Muḥammad Sirāj, Shaikh Jamāl Kāmil,⁶ Maulānā Dā'ūd Pālāhī,⁷ Muḥam-

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb*, p. 175. Mu'in-u'd-dīn 'Abd-u'llah (*Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* MS. Vol. I, p. 267) makes very curious statements in connection with the *Khalifahs* of Shaikh Farid. He says that Shaikh Farid had 10,000 *Khalifahs* on earth ; 18,000 in the sea ; 400 in the air, 400 on the sky and 400 on the *Kuh-i-Qāf*. The whole account is saturated with superstition and is incredible for our purposes.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 167-185.

Shaikh Fakhr-u'd-dīn Šafāhānī is casually mentioned in *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* (p. 345). No detailed account of the saint is available. He settled at Bilgrām. Another *Khalifah* of the Shaikh was Shaikh Wahīd. Sayyid Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz refers to him as a successor of Bābā Farid (*Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām*, p. 341) ; but detailed account of this saint also is not available.

³ He was the principal *Khalifah* of Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn 'Alī Aḥmad Šābir of Kalyar. Allah Diyah says that he had received the robe of *Khilāfat* from Bābā Farid also, but his statement is not confirmed by earlier authorities. For brief biographical notices, see, *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb* pp. 184-197 ; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS), pp. 699-703.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb*, p. 177. Our earlier authorities do not refer to him at all.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb*, p. 177. Mu'in-u'd-dīn 'Abd-u'llah says that Shaikh Zain-u'd-dīn was a descendant of Shaikh Farid (*Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* (MS) Vol. I, p. 283).

⁶ No book except *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb*, has referred to Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Raiz, Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Bār, Shaikh Muḥammad Sirāj and Shaikh Jamāl Kāmil. Mu'in-u'd-dīn 'Abd-u'llah says that probably Shaikh 'Alī Šābir and Shaikh 'Alī Lāhiqq became known as Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Raiz and Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Bār. *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, Vol. I, p. 267.

⁷ Maulānā Dā'ūd Pālāhī was an eminent disciple, not *Khalifah*, of Shaikh Farid. His piety and devotion has been praised in several *taḥkīrāhs* and mystic works. See, *Khair u'l-Majālis*, pp. 118-119 ; *Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 70 ; *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS) ; *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, (MS), Vol. I, p. 259.

mad Shāh Ghurī,¹ Maulānā Muḥammad Multānī,² Maulānā 'Alī Bihārī,³ Muḥammad Naishāpuri,⁴ Maulānā Ḥamid-u'd-dīn,⁵ Shaikh Yūsuf,⁶ Shaikh Muntajab-u'd-dīn,⁷ Shaikh 'Alī Lāhiqq⁸ and Maulānā Taqī-u'd-dīn⁹ as Khalīfahs of the great saint. It is difficult to attach any value to this list, given by later writers, because it is not corroborated by any earlier authority.

An account of some of his leading khalīfahs is given below.

1. Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hānsawī¹⁰

He was the oldest disciple of Bābā Farīd. As noted earlier the Shaikh used to advise every disciple whom he granted his Khilāfat Nāmāh to get the document endorsed by him. Amīr Khurd has mentioned the story of a saint who somehow secured a Khilāfat Nāmāh from Bābā Farīd, but, when he approached Shaikh Jamāl for endorsement, he refused to

¹ Both the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* (p. 64) and the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* (p. 85) refer to him as a very sincere and devoted disciple of Shaikh Farīd. However, the Shaikh did not appoint him his Khalīfah.

² His name is mentioned in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* (p. 55) as a casual visitor to the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Farīd. No contemporary or even semi-contemporary authority supports Mu'in-u'd-dīn 'Abd-ullah's statement that he was a Khalīfah of the great saint. *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, Vol. I, p. 257.

³ There is a casual reference to him in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* (pp. 52-59). I do not know on what authority has Mu'in-u'd-dīn 'Abd-ullah (*Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, Vol. I, p. 257) included him among the Khalīfahs of the great saint. The fact that he was one of those three dear disciples of the Shaikh whom he had sent to a graveyard to pray for his health is not enough to prove that he had received Khilāfat also.

⁴ He is referred to in earlier authorities as a disciple of Shaikh Farīd (*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* p. 70). There is no evidence to prove that he received Khilāfat from the Shaikh.

⁵ See Supra p. 47. He had, it seems, received Khilāfat from Shaikh Farīd who had asked him also to settle in a village. The Shaikh told him:

”تو دران دیر برو، ساکن شو کم تو این زمان مثل ستاره شدی کم ستاره

در مقابل مهتاب نور ندید، تو دران دیر برو ساکن شو“ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* p. 205.

⁶ The *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* (pp. 31-32) definitely informs us that the Shaikh had not assigned any spiritual work to him.

⁷ He may, with some justification, be considered a Khalīfah of Shaikh Farīd though no earlier authority has explicitly mentioned this fact. Amīr Khurd says that when Bābā Farīd gave his Khilāfat Nāmāh to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya he instructed him to show it to Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn in Hānsī and to Qāḍī Muntajab in Dehli (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 116). It means that Shaikh Muntajab was one of those senior Khalīfahs in whom the Shaikh had great confidence. Mu'in-u'd-dīn 'Abd-ullah says that he was the elder brother of Maulānā Burhān-u'd-dīn Ghārīb and had settled in Deogīr at the order of his spiritual master (*Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, Vol. I, pp. 261-262). Maulānā Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bīlgrāmī has based his account of Maulānā Muntajab-u'd-dīn on the *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*. See his *Rauḍah-i-Auliya*. pp. 14-16.

⁸ The *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* (Vol. I, pp. 266-267) contains a confused account of Shaikh 'Alī Lāhiqq. This account has been copied by later writers. See, *Khaznat-u'l-Asfiya* Vol. I, p. 314.

⁹ Mu'in-u'd-dīn 'Abd-ullah says that he was a brother of Maulānā Dā'ūd Pālāhī, *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* Vol. I, p. 268.

¹⁰ For brief biographical notices, see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* pp. 42, 54 etc.; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 178-184; *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām*, p. 233; *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 67-68; *Gulzar-i-Abrār* (MS); *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS) pp. 585-587; *Jawāhir-i-Farīd* (MS); *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* (MS) Vol. I, pp. 250-252. The stories mentioned about him in the *Siyar-u'l-Aqūb* (P. 170) deserve no credence.

sign it and tore it to pieces. Bitterly offended at this act of Shaiḥ Jamāl he came to Bābā Farīd who refused to do anything in the matter. "I cannot put together what Jamāl has torn to pieces," replied Bābā Farīd.¹

Bābā Farīd had great love and affection for Shaiḥ Jamāl. It is said that his stay in Hānsī for twelve years was out of love for him.² He used to say: "Jamāl is our *jamāl* (beauty)."³ Shaiḥ Bāhā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā is reported to have offered to exchange all his disciples for him. Bābā Farīd replied that any such transaction was possible regarding *māl* (property) but not in case of *jamāl* (beauty).⁴

When Shaiḥ Jamāl-u'd-dīn joined the discipline of Bābā Farīd, he was the *Ḳhaṭīb* of Hānsī. As noticed earlier, Bābā Farīd demanded from his higher disciples complete severance of all ties with the government of the day and as the post of the *Ḳhaṭīb* was maintained by the state, Shaiḥ Jamāl had to give it up. Once, while on his way to Ajodhan, Shaiḥ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā stayed with Shaiḥ Jamāl at Hānsī. Shaiḥ Jamāl requested him to inform Shaiḥ Farīd about his miserable circumstances and abject poverty. When Shaiḥ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā conveyed this message, Shaiḥ Farīd remarked:

”اورا بگوئی چون ولایت بکسی داده شود اورا واجب است استمالت“⁵

(Tell him that when a *Wilāyat*—spiritual territory—is assigned to anyone, it is his duty to bear its burden).

Shaiḥ Jamāl-u'd-dīn visited Ajodhan seven times to see his master.⁶ When indifferent health prevented him from undertaking long journeys, he sent his maid-servant as messenger. "How is my Jamāl?" Bābā Farīd once asked her. "From the time the *Khawāja* has become a disciple of yours," she replied, "He has given up his villages, property and the office of *Ḳhaṭīb*. He is afflicted with starvation and sufferings." Bābā Farīd was pleased at this information. "God be praised," he said, "(Jamāl) is happy."⁷

¹ *Siyyar-u'l-Auliyyā*, p. 179. پاره کردد جمال را ما نتوانیم دوخت

Later writers have woven strange legends round this incident. Some say that the famous saint of Kalyar (in Sahāranpur district) was the person whose *Khilāfat Nāmāh* was torn by Shaiḥ Jamāl. Anti-Jamāl feelings have long been a feature of the *Ṣābirī* branch of the *Chishtī* order and considerable literature has been produced on that topic. Now that controversy has almost died out.

² & ³ *Siyyar-u'l-Auliyyā*, p. 178.

⁴ *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, MS.

⁵ *Siyyar-u'l-Auliyyā*, p. 180.

Shaiḥ Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī has explained that استمالت meant 'turning the heart towards Allah from all other things.'

(توجه القلب الى الله من كل الوجوه)

⁶ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 42.

⁷ *Siyyar-u'l-Auliyyā*, pp. 180-181.

Shaikh Jamāl was a man of great learning. His two works—a Persian *Dīwān*,¹ and an Arabic treatise-*Mulhamāt*²—have survived.

Shaikh Jamāl died during the lifetime of his master. His maid-servant, who was known as Umm-u'l-Muminin, took Shaikh Jamāl's son,³ Maulārā Burhān-u'd-dīn, to the great Shaikh. Maulānā Burhān was a young lad at that time, but the Shaikh granted him his *khilāfat-Nāmāh*⁴ and asked him to benefit from the company of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn at Dehlī. The maid-servant was surprised at the Shaikh's generosity in conferring the *khilāfat* on a boy of tender age. She submitted: "*Khawāja Burhān-u'd-dīn bālā hai*" (*Khawāja* Burhān-u'd-dīn is a (mere) child.) Shaikh Farīd replied: "*Ponun kā chānd bhī bālā hantā hai*" (The crescent is also small).⁵

Shaikh Burhān-u'd-dīn lived for some time with Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya but he did not enrol any disciples. "It is not meet for me," he used to say, "to enrol anyone as my disciple when *Haḍrat* Nizām-u'd-dīn Muḥammad is there."⁶ Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Munawwar,⁷ a distinguished disciple and *Khalifah* of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, was his son.

¹ This *dīwān* is in two volumes. One volume contains *ghazals*, the other contains *rubā'īs* and *qit'ās*. (Printed by Pīrjī Rafī-u'd-dīn, Tehsildār Dehlī, in 1889 in the *Chāshmah-i-Faīd* Press, Dehlī). A MS of this *Dīwān* is preserved in the Library of the University of Uppsala (Bibliotheca Nov. 300). See *Islāmic Research Association Miscellany*, Vol. I, 1948 pp. 167-174.

² *Mulhamāt* was published in 1306 A. H. from Alwar (Yusufi Press). It is full of Sufistic aphorism, "sublime in ideas and sweet in expression." See also, *Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, pp. 82-85.

³ Shaikh Jamāl had two sons. The elder one was a *majdhūb* but sometimes he recovered consciousness and spoke very wisely. Once he told Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya: "Knowledge is a great veil." When asked to explain what he meant, he said: "Knowledge is distinct from the truth and whatever is distinct from the truth is a veil." *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 184.

For a detailed account of the descendants of Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn, see *Sirāj-u'n-Nasab*, by Muḥammad Sirāj-u'l-Iḥāq (Published in 1313 A. H. Printed at Dīā-u'l-Islām Press, Qādiyan).

⁴ Shaikh Farīd also bestowed upon him the prayer carpet and the staff which Shaikh Jamāl had left and remarked: "You have the same authority from me as your father had." *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 182-183.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 183.

⁶ He had very great respect for Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. Every time that he visited Dehlī Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn ordered a cot to be placed for him in his *Jamā'at Khānah*, but Shaikh Burhān-u'd-dīn, out of respect for the Shaikh, never slept on it. It is said that whenever he went to see the Shaikh he changed his clothes and perfumed himself. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 183-84.

⁷ He was one of those three great saints of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq's reign—Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh and Shaikh Shams-u'd-dīn Yahyā being the other two—who kept alive the traditions of the Chishtī *silsilah* at a very critical moment in its history and refused to subordinate themselves to the dictates of the Sultān. For biographical details, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 247-253; *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, 'Alf, p. 423-424; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 87-88; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār*, MS. pp. 641-643; *Gulzar-i-Abrār* MS; *Ma'arīj-u'l-Wilāyat* MS, Vol. pp. 298-303; *Maṭlūb-u'l-Ṭālibīn*, MS. f 119 a.

2. *Shaiḫh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil*¹

He was the youngest brother of *Shaiḫh* Farīd.² He had come to Dehli to complete his education but decided to settle there permanently. He passed his days in abject poverty. "For seventy years," *Shaiḫh* Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā once informed his audience, "*Shaiḫh* Najīb u'd-dīn lived in the city. He had neither property nor pension. He lived resigned to the will of God along with his family and passed his days happily. I have not seen anyone like him in the city."³ He had a small house consisting of a small room in which he lived with his wife and two sons. There was a broken *chappar* (thatched roof) over this room and there he used to meet his visitors.⁴ Once, some *qalandars* came to see and greet him on an 'Id day. *Shaiḫh* Najīb-u'd-dīn had nothing in his house to entertain them. He thought of selling something in order to buy food for them. He looked at his wife's *dāman*; it was torn and patched and could fetch no price. He glanced at his prayer-carpet; it was no better. When all attempts to provide something for the visitors failed, *Shaiḫh* Najīb offered cold water to them.⁵ A pious and saintly lady of Dehli, Bibi Fāṭimah,⁶ very often helped the starving family of *Shaiḫh* Najīb.⁷

Shaiḫh Farīd had granted his *khilāfat* to him, but we have no record of his disciples. He paid nineteen visits to Ajodhan to meet his brother.⁸ When he was leaving *Shaiḫh* Farīd after his nineteenth visit, the saint did not recite the *Fātiḥah* to pray that his younger brother may come to see him again as was his custom on former occasions. *Shaiḫh* Najīb never saw his brother again and died a few months before *Shaiḫh* Farīd departed for the world beyond. He was buried outside the city near the *Darwāzah-i-Mandah*.⁹ Two references to him in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* show that he was a man of scholarly tastes.¹⁰

¹ For brief biographical notices, see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* pp. 14-15, 28, 78-79; *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 75-76; *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*, pp. 167-169; *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, pp. 97-101; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 59-60; *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS); *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār*, MS; *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, (MS).

² The names of *Shaiḫh* Farīd's brothers are given by Maulānā Jamālī (*Siyar-u'l-Arifin* p. 32). His eldest brother 'Izz-u'd-dīn died at Kahtwāl (*Siyar-u'l-Arifin* p. 32). Amīr *Khurd* says that *Shaiḫh* Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil had a brother in Badā'un, (*Siyar-u'l-Auliā*, p. 167).

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*, p. 167.

⁴ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 75.

⁵ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 75. See also, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* pp. 136-137 for the practice of *Shaiḫh* Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī.

⁶ *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 286-287; *Siyar-u'l-Arifin* pp. 101-102.

⁷ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 245.

⁸ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 42.

⁹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*, p. 169.

¹⁰ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 28, 26.

3. *Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq*¹

He was an eminent scholar of Dehli. The circumstances under which he became a disciple of Shaikh Farīd have been discussed in Chapter XV. The Shaikh had assigned to him the duties of his personal service. He was also in charge of the general supervision of the *Jam'at al-Klānah* and used to write *ta'wīz* (amulet) on behalf of the Shaikh. Besides, it was his duty to draft certificates of *Khilāfat*.

Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn did not enrol any disciple during the life-time of his Shaikh, except Malik Sharf-u'd-dīn Kubra, Muqta' of Dīpāl-pūr, about whom the Shaikh had explicitly ordered him to admit into his discipline.²

Shaikh Ishāq wrote a scholarly book on Arabic grammar-*Taṣrīf-i-Badarī*.³ Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya had an autographed copy of this book. It is extinct now.

Shaikh Farīd had married his daughter Bibī Fāṭimah to him. After the Shaikh's death his relations with Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān became unpleasant and, at the suggestion of Sayyid Maḥmūd Kirmānī, he shifted to the Juma' Masjid of Ajodhan and began teaching the *Qur'ān* to small boys. His devotion to his master was so deep that he did not long survive him. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, who had very great respect for him and was much indebted to him, called his family to Dehli and took keen personal interest in the training and education of his sons.⁴

4. *Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya*⁵

He was the most outstanding disciple and *Khālīfah* of Shaikh Farīd. For about half a century he lived and worked in Dehli. All sorts of men, says Baranī, visited him and found spiritual solace in his company.⁶ Under him the *Chishtī Silsilah* reached its highest watermark and his disciples set up *Chishtī* mystic centres in practically every important part of the country.⁷ Almost all the descendants of the disciples of Shaikh Farīd as well as Shaikh Farīd's own descendants accepted him as their spiritual leader.⁸

¹ For brief biographical notices, see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* pp. 59, 74 etc.; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 162-178; *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 116, 130, 137, 224; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* pp. 42, 85 etc.; *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 66-67; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* MS. pp. 582-584; *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, Vol. I, pp. 252-255.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 175.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 173.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 171-172.

⁵ For his life and teachings, see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilam* and *Durar-i-Nizāmiyah* (MS). See also, *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 59-91; *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 54-59; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS), pp. 561-581; *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, (MS) Vol. I pp. 88-120; *Gulzar-i-Abrār* MS; *Maflūb-u'l-Tālibin* MS; *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, ii, pp. 208-209; *Tārīkh-i-Firīqah*, Vol. II, pp. 391-398; *Shajarat-u'l-Anwār* (MS); *Iqtibās-u'l-Anwār* (MS) ff 182a-186b; *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns*, pp. 452-453.

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 363.

⁷ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, II, p. 208.

⁸ e.g. Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn Munawwar, Shaikh Kabīr-u'd-dīn, Khwāja 'Azīz-u'd-dīn, Khwāja Muḥammad, Shaikh Kamāl-u'd-dīn.

Shaikh Nizām-u d-dīn Auliya developed faith in Shaikh Farīd at a very tender age. One day he was reading a *na't* (short poem written in praise of the Prophet) in a school (*maktab*) at Badā'un that a *qawwāl* (musician), Abū Bakr by name, who had visited Multān and Ajodhan, came to his teacher and began to narrate some interesting experiences of his journey in the Punjāb. Abū Bakr started with an account of the *Khānqah* of Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā and said that even the slave-girls of the Shaikh were all time busy in religious meditation and, while grinding corn, they recited the names of Allah. These stories, however did not touch Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn's heart, but when the *qawwāl* praised the piety of Shaikh Farīd his soul was moved.¹ He developed sudden and intense love for Shaikh Farīd and began to repeat his name after every prayer. He never went to bed unless he had thought of him.² His friends came to know of this and whenever an occasion arose they asked him to swear by Shaikh Farīd. Four years passed like this. At the age of sixteen he started for Dehli to complete his education at the feet of the eminent scholars of the capital. An old man, 'Awad, accompanied him. 'Awad was a staunch believer in the spiritual greatness of Shaikh Farīd. Whenever he saw the slightest danger of being molested by robbers or by wild beasts, he cried out impatiently: "O *pīr*! Rush up." "Oh *pīr*! We are proceeding under your protection." Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn did not know who the saint was whom he was so imploring. When he inquired, 'Awad respectfully mentioned the name of Shaikh Farīd.³ The great saint of Ajodhan was already 'his vision in the night and his dreaming in the day'. 'Awad's reference to him supplied fuel to the burning emotions of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn.

It was a strange coincidence that on reaching Dehli he alighted in an inn which was in the neighbourhood of Shaikh Najib-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil,⁴ brother of Shaikh Farīd. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn became a frequent visitor to Shaikh Najib's house and developed close friendship with him.

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn pursued his studies diligently and very soon earned a position of distinction in the academic circles of Dehli. One day he went to Shaikh Najib-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil and requested him to pray to God for his appointment as Qāḍī. Shaikh Najib-u'd-dīn, who saw marks of spiritual greatness on the forehead of this young scholar, very significantly remarked: "God forbid that you be that (Qāḍī)."⁵

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 149.

Siyar-u'l-Auliya, p. 100.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 149.

Siyar-u'l-Auliya, p. 100.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 149.

Siyar-u'l-Auliya, p. 100.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 149.

Siyar-u'l-Auliya, p. 100.

⁵ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 28.

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn's love for Shaikh Farīd increased infinitely in the company of Shaikh Najīb. One day he started for Ajodhan without making any provision for the journey.¹ He met the great Shaikh on a Wednesday in 655 A.H²/1257 A.D. The Shaikh discerned in him a true successor to him, to Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and, in fact, to all the great Chishtī mystics of the past. He welcomed him with the couplet :

ای آتش فراق دلہا کباب کردہ
سیلاب اشتیاق جانہا خراب کردہ

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn whose heart was overflowing with emotions unsuccessfully tried to summon up courage to tell in detail how eager he himself was to see him, but the awe of the Shaikh made him tremble. It was with great difficulty that he could utter this single sentence :

اشتیاق پائے بوس عظیم غالب ہو دہ امت
(I) had strong desire to meet you).

"Every new comer is nervous,"³ remarked Shaikh Farīd and soothed his nerves. That very day Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn was admitted into the discipleship of Shaikh Farīd and his head was shaved.

All the disciples of the great Shaikh who lived in the *Jamā'at Khānah* used to sleep on the ground, but the Shaikh honoured his young disciple from Dehlī by ordering Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq to provide a cot for him. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn had great hesitation in sleeping on it because many *huffāz* and scholars were sleeping on the ground, but Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn told him that obeying the Shaikh's order was higher than every other consideration.⁴

After his initiation Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn submitted to his master : "Should I give up my studies and devote exclusively to supererogatory prayers, *aurād* and *wazā'if*?" "I never ask any one to discontinue his studies," replied Shaikh Farīd, "Carry on both of them, and (finally) whichever gets the upper hand, devote yourself to that. Some knowledge is also necessary for a *durwesh*."⁵

One very significant advice which was given by Shaikh Farīd to his young disciple on his first visit to Ajodhan was that one should

¹ See *Nafahāt-u'l-uns*, p. 452 ; Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn spends whole night in the Juma' Masjid of Dehlī ; in the morning he hears the *mu'adhdhin* recite the following verse : "Has the time not come for the true believers that their hearts may tremble at the remembrance of the Lord," (*Qur'ān* s. 57:16) and decides to proceed to Ajodhan and lay his head at the feet of Shaikh Farīd.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 106.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 30.

Siyar-u'l-Auliya, p. 107.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 107.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 107.

placate one's enemies and should fulfil all his obligations.¹ When Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā returned from Ajodhan he cleared the debt he owed to a cloth dealer and offered to pay the price of a book which he had borrowed and lost.²

Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn visited Ajodhan three times during the lifetime of the great Shaiḵh.³ During his second visit he studied with the Shaiḵh six chapters of the *Qur'ān*, five chapters of the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*' and two other books.⁴

In Jamādī I, 664 A.H./1265 A.D., Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn visited his master for the last time. The Shaiḵh showered many blessings on him and said: "I have given you both the worlds. Go and take the kingdom of Hindustān."⁵

On Ramaḍān 13, 664 A.H./1265 A.D., Shaiḵh Farīd granted his *Khilāfat Nāmāh* to Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā who devoted his whole life to the propagation of the Chishtī mystic principles. Baranī's account of the Shaiḵh's popularity and influence deserves to be quoted in full. He writes: "Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn had opened wide the doors of his discipleship . . . and admitted (all sorts of people into his discipline) nobles and plebians, rich and poor, learned and illiterate citizens and villagers, soldiers and warriors, free-men and slaves⁶ and these people refrained from many improper things, because they considered themselves disciples of the Shaiḵh; if any of them committed a sin, he confessed it and vowed allegiance anew. The general public showed an inclination to religion and prayer; men and women, young and old, shop-keepers and servants, children and slaves, all came to say their prayers. Most of these who frequented the Shaiḵh's company regularly said their *Chūsh*⁷ and *Ishrāq* prayers. Many platforms with thatched roofs over them were constructed on the way from the city to *Chiyāthpur*; wells were dug, water-vessels were kept, carpets were spread, and a servant and a *ḥāfiz* was stationed at every platform so that the people going to the Shaiḵh may have no difficulty in saying their supererogatory prayers. Owing to regard for the Shaiḵh's

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 140.

Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā p. 330.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 140.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 42.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 163.

Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā, p. 106.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā*, pp. 131-132.

⁶ For the Shaiḵh's explanation for admitting all sorts of people into his discipleship, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā*, pp. 346-348, where the author gives a long extract from Dīu-u'd-dīn Baranī's *Hasrat Nāmāh*.

⁷ In addition to the five compulsory (fard) prayers—*Fajr*, *Zuhr*, '*Asr*', *Maghrib* and '*Ishā*'—there are five recommended (*sunnat*) prayers—(i) *Ishrāq*, offered after sunrise; (ii) *Chāsh*, offered at forenoon; (iii) *Zawāl*, offered after mid-day; (iv) *Awābīn*, offered at twilight and (v) *Tahajjud* offered between mid-night and early dawn.

discipleship all talk of sinful acts had disappeared from the people. There were no topics of conversation among most people except inquiries about the prayers of *Chāshṭ*, *Awābīn* and *Tahajjud*. How many genuflexions (*rak'ats*) they contained? What *Surah* of the *Qur'ān* to recite in each *rak'at*? What invocations (*du'ā*) are to follow each prayer? How many *rak'ats* does the *Shaiḫ* say every night; and what part of the *Qur'ān* in every *rak'at* and what *darūds* (Blessing on the Prophet)? What was the custom of *Shaiḫ* Farīd and *Shaiḫ* Bakhtiyār? Such were the questions asked by the new disciples of the old. They inquired about fasting and prayer and about reducing their diet. Many persons took to committing the *Qur'ān* to memory. The new disciples of the *Shaiḫ* were entrusted to the old. And the older disciples had no other occupation but prayer and worship, aloofness from the world, the study of books on devotion and the lives of saints. And God forbid that they should ever talk or hear about the worldly affairs or ever turn towards the house of worldly men, for such things they considered to be entirely sinful and wrong. Perseverance in supererogatory prayers alone had gone to such an extent that at the Sultān's court many amīrs, clerks, guards, and royal slaves had become the *Shaiḫ*'s disciples, said their *Chāshṭ* and *Ishrāq* prayers and fasted on the 13th, 14th and 15th of every lunar month (*'Ayyām-i-Bīḍ*) as well as during the first ten days of Zil Hijjah. There was no quarter of the city in which a gathering of the pious was not held every month or after every twenty days with mystic songs that moved them to tears. Many disciples of the *Shaiḫ* finished the *tarāwīḥ*¹ prayers in their houses or in the mosques. Such of them as were persevering passed the whole night standing in their prayers throughout the month of Ramaḍān, on Fridays and during the days of the Hajj. The higher disciples stood in the prayers for a third or three-fourths of the night throughout the years, while others said their morning prayers with the ablution of their 'Ishā prayer. Some of the disciples had, by now reached to eminence in spiritual power through this education.

"Owing to the influence of the *Shaiḫ*, most of the Mussalmāns of this country took an inclination to mysticism, prayers and aloofness from the world, and came to have a faith in the *Shaiḫ*. This faith was shared by 'Alā-u'd-dīn and his family. The hearts of men having become virtuous by good deeds, the very name of wine, gambling and other forbidden things never came to any one's lips. Sins and abominable vices appeared to people as bad as infidelity. Out of regard for one another the Mussalmāns refrained from open usury and regrating (*iḥtikār*), while the shop-keepers, from fear, gave up speaking lies, using false weights and deceiving the ignorant. Most of the scholars and learned men, who frequented the *Shaiḫ*'s company, applied themselves

¹ The prayers, of usually twenty *rak'ats*, recited at night during the month of Ramaḍān.

to books on devotion and mysticism. The books, *Qūt-u'l-Qulūb*,¹ '*Ihyā-u'l-'Ulūm*'² and its translation,³ '*Awārif*,'⁴ *Kaṣḥf-u'l-Mahjūb*,⁵ *Sharḥ-i-Ta'arruf*,⁶ *Risālah-i-Quṣḥairī*,⁷ *Mirṣād-u'l-'Ibād*,⁸ *Maktūbāt-i-'Ain-u'l-Qudāt*⁹ and the *Lawā'ih* and *Lawāma'* of Qāḍī Hamīd u'd-dīn Nāgaurī¹⁰ found many purchasers, as also did the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* of Amīr Ḥasan owing to the sayings of the *Shaiḥ* which it contains. People asked the booksellers about books of devotion. No handkerchief was seen without a tooth brush (*miswāk*) or a comb tied to it. Owing to the great number of purchasers, the price of water and leathern vessels became high. In short God had created the *Shaiḥ* as a peer of *Shaiḥ* Junaid¹¹ and *Shaiḥ* Bāyazīd¹² in these later days and adorned him with that divine love which cannot be understood by human wisdom. The virtues of a *Shaiḥ* — and the art of leading men (in the mystic path) — found their fulfilment and their final consummation in him.

زین فن مطاب نامی
گان ختم شد است بر نظامی

(Do not try to obtain eminence in this art, for it has come to an end with Nizāmī.)

"On the 5th of every Muḥarram, which is death-anniversary of *Shaiḥ* u'l-Islām *Shaiḥ* Farīd u'd-dīn, people flocked to the house of the *Shaiḥ* from the city and from different parts of Hindustān.¹³"

Shaiḥ Farīd had said: "Nizām u'd-dīn! You will be a tree under whose soothing shadow people will rest."¹⁴ *Shaiḥ* Nizām u'd-dīn proved himself true to the expectations of his master.

¹ Written by Maulānā Abū Ṭalīb Maḥṣī (ob. 386 A.H./996 A.D.); published from Cairo in 2 Volumes in 1310 A.H./1892 A.D.

² Written by Imām Ghazzālī (ob. 505 A.H./1111 A.D.); published from Cairo in 1311 A.H./1893 A.D.

³ i.e. *Kāmiyā-i-Sa'ādāt* (Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1324 A.H./1907 A.D.).

⁴ Written by *Shaiḥ* Shihāb u'd-dīn Suhrawardī (ob. 1234 A.D.); first published in Cairo on the margin of *Ihyā* of Imām Ghazzālī.

⁵ Written by *Shaiḥ* 'Alī Hujwerī (ob. after 1074 A.D.); Persian text (Gulzār-i-Hind Steam Press, Lahore); English translation by R. A. Nicholson (Luzac 1936).

⁶ *Kitāb-i-Ta'arruf* was written by Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm Bukhārī (ob. 390 A.H./999 A.D.). It is one of the classics on Islamic mysticism. The author of *Kaṣḥf-u'l-zunūn* quotes a saying of the mystics about this book: "لولا التعرف لما عرف التصوف"

⁷ Written by Abū'l Qāsim 'Abd-u'l Karīm Quṣḥairī (ob. 465 A.H./1072 A.D.) in 438 A.H./1046 A.D. Published from Cairo in 1346 A.H./1927 A.D.

⁸ Written by Najm u'd-dīn Rāḍī in 1223 A.D. See, Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, pp. 495-496.

⁹ 'Ain-u'l-Qudāt Hamadānī (ob. 525 A.H./1130 A.D.).

¹⁰ See Infra. Bābū Farīd taught *Lawā'ih* to one of his disciples.

¹¹ Abū'l Qāsim B. Muḥammad B. Junaid (ob. 298 A.H./910 A.D.). See *Kaṣḥf al-Mahjūb* (Tr) pp. 128-130.

¹² Bāyazīd Ṭāfūr Bisṭāmī (ob. 261 A.H./875 A.D.). See *Kaṣḥf al-Mahjūb* (Tr) p. 106 et seq.

¹³ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 343-347.

¹⁴ *Siyyar-u'l-Auliya'*, p. 117.

5. Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn 'Alī B. Aḥmad Ṣābir¹

He was the founder of the Ṣābirī branch of the Chishtī Silsilah. He is said to have been a prominent disciple of Shaiḥ Farīd. It is most unfortunate that no early account of this great saint is available. No contemporary or even semi-contemporary historian or *tadhkirahnavīs* has referred to him. Literature about him becomes profuse from the time of Shāh Jahān, when the author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb* wrote about him and the circumstances that led to the discovery of his grave in Kalyar many years after his death.² The Ṣābirī *Silsilah* however came into the full light of history when Shaiḥ Aḥmad 'Abd-u'l Ḥaqq³ (ob. 837 A.H./1433 A.D.) established a great mystic centre at Rudaulī (in the Barābankī district) and began to propagate the teachings of the *Silsilah*.

6. Shaikh 'Ārif

A very brief and casual reference to him is found in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*⁴ and the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*.⁵ The Shaiḥ had sent him to Siwistān. Once the governor of Uchch gave him one hundred *tankahs* and asked him to take them to Shaiḥ Farīd. Shaiḥ 'Ārif offered only 50 *tankahs* to the Shaiḥ and retained the rest for himself. Shaiḥ Farīd smiled and said : “ ‘Ārif ! You have divided the amount on a brotherly basis.” ‘Ārif was covered with shame and confusion as he heard these words. He placed the whole amount before the saint and implored his forgiveness. Bābā Farīd asked him to shave his head and renew his discipleship. After this repentance Shaiḥ 'Ārif led a life of extreme devotion and the Shaiḥ granted him a *ḵilāfat Nāmah* and ordered him to go again to Siwistān. Shaiḥ 'Ārif brought back the *ḵilāfat Nāmah* and submitted to his master : “This responsible work is beyond the capacity of a weak man like myself ; I cannot undertake the duties of the work of the great Shaiḥs.” The Shaiḥ permitted him to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca from where he never returned.

¹ For brief biographical notices see, *Aḥbār-u'l-Aḥyār* p. 69 ; *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb* pp. 177-184 ; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS) pp. 626-631 ; *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* (MS) Vol. I, pp. 263-264.

² *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb*, p. 183. Kalyar, near Roorkee in the Saharanpur District of the Uttar Pradesh.

³ For brief biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb*, pp. 215-222 ; *Aḥbār u'l-Aḥyār*, pp. 182-184 ; *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār*, (MS) p. 917 *et seq.*

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 215-216.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 184-185.

CHAPTER XIV

The Man

*"His life was gentle; and the elements
So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man!"*

What strikes a biographer of Shaiḵh Farid most is his excellence as a man. Truthful, honest, sincere, affectionate and considerate—he was a living embodiment of all the moral virtues which he preached to his disciples and visitors. His warm loving nature responded to the triflest of human sufferings. He had that loftiness of spirit which grows out of unselfishness and which elicits spontaneous veneration. Persons having little understanding of the mystic principles and ideology have disfigured these saints by attributing meaningless miracles to them. Shaiḵh Farid's miracles were the miracles of a deeply sympathetic soul and his greatness was the greatness of a morally perfect man.

The greatest attribute of Shaiḵh Farid in the eyes of his nearest disciple, Shaiḵh Babr-u'd-din Iṣḥāq, was his absolute sincerity and complete absence of hypocrisy. His private life was a perfect mirror of his public life and he never said or did different things in public and in private. There was complete harmony between his thought, words and actions. This was, as Maulānā Iṣḥāq correctly said, a unique and wonderful things.¹

Shaiḵh Niẓām-u'd-din Auliya was the dearest disciple of Shaiḵh Farid and had been very close to his master. He never thought of his miracles. His heart was moved when he thought of the saint's اوصای پسندیده (pleasant qualities) کمال بزرگی (perfection of saintliness) غایت فضل (excellent learning) and لطافت (kindness or courtesy).²

The first thing that captured a visitor's heart was the complete absence of all hateful distinctions and discriminations in his *Jamā'at Khānah*. Rich and poor, old acquaintances and new-comers, were received by him with the same courtesy and warmth of affection.³

"Nothing will bring greater reward on the Day of Judgement", Shaiḵh Niẓām-u'd-din Auliya used to say, "than bringing happiness to the hearts of Mussalmāns and of men."⁴ Bābā Farid's whole life

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 74.

Siyar-u'l-Auliya, p. 65.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 96.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 74; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 65.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 128.

was spent in bringing happiness to the hearts of men. He attended to every problem that his visitors brought to him, not because he desired any reward in the next world, but because he could not bear to see any human suffering.¹

Shaikh Farīd was a man of poise. He behaved with the utmost coolness in the face of the gravest provocation.² His forbearance in moments of extreme excitement often turned an enemy into a devoted disciple. One day he was sitting on his carpet when 'an insolent person'³ came to him and shouted: "Why do you display yourself like an idol?" "I have nothing to do in this matter," replied the Shaikh with unruffled temper, "God has made me what I am." "No," shouted the man, "You have made yourself like this." "No," replied the Shaikh, "God has made everything that exists." The man felt ashamed and went away.⁴ Humility and modesty was deeply ingrained in his nature. Whenever he described his spiritual experiences he concealed his identity and created the impression as if he was referring to some other saint.⁵

Shaikh Farīd was always ready to forgive and forget. Persons who annoyed and vexed him were forgiven by him. The son of the magician Shihāb was responsible for his prolonged illness, but he forgave him and asked the governor of Ajodhan also to forgive him.⁶

Shaikh Farīd believed in pleasing even his enemies. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya says that the Shaikh used to exhort his disciples with the maxim: "One should placate one's enemies."⁷

With this pleasant, forgiving and sympathetic nature, Shaikh Farīd became a lovable figure. People who visited him were captured by his charm and his sympathetic looks inspired faith and confidence in their hearts.

¹ One day five harsh-tempered and self-willed *dervishes* came to see the Shaikh. When they were leaving the *Jamā'at Khānah*, the Shaikh advised them not to follow the desert route on their journey. They paid no heed to his warning and proceeded in the forbidden direction. The Shaikh sent some of his disciples to see what route they had taken. When he came to know that they had disregarded his advice, he began to weep and cry. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn tells us:

چون این خبر بشنید هائی هائی بگریست، چنانکه کسی ماتم دارد

Sometime afterwards news was brought that those *dervishes* were swept away by a cyclone. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 251.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, pp. 125-126.

See also *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 84. Qādi 'Abd-u'llah talked ill about the Shaikh and his followers in the *Jāma' Masjid* after the Friday prayer; the Shaikh did not quarrel with him. Instead, he left the mosque and advised his disciples to be patient.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 48, has یکی از بے باکان. Jamālī says he was a *qalandar* (p. 35).

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* has خجل شد و بازگشت (p. 48). Jamālī says that he was so much impressed by the Shaikh's behaviour that he placed his head on the ground and praised his forbearance. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin* p. 35.

⁵ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* p. 82; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 330.

⁶ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 178.

⁷ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 140; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 330.

CHAPTER XV

The Scholar

"Muslim mysticism," remarks Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb, "is a post-graduate creed.¹" An ignorant man was considered incapable of undertaking the mystic journey because he could not distinguish between *reality* and *illusion* and was, therefore, always in danger of getting stuck in a spiritual morass. "An illiterate mystic," Shaiḫ Quṭb-u'd-dīn Baḫṭiyār Kākī told Shaiḫ Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, "falls a prey in the hands of the devil."²

True to the highest traditions of medieval mysticism, Shaiḫ Farīd strove for the best education that was possible in his days. Early in his life, he had desired to abandon his studies and follow Shaiḫ Quṭb-u'd-dīn Baḫṭiyār Kākī, but the saint advised him to complete his education before turning to the discipline of his soul. After years of strenuous effort and struggle he completed his education and attained to a high degree of scholarship.

Pedantic display of knowledge — so common a characteristic of the '*ulāmā-i-zāhir* — was regarded by the Shaiḫ with contempt. Knowledge, he said, should bring in its wake humility, sympathy and understanding. If it created arrogance and pride it defeated its own purpose. He used to say :

مقصود از خواندن علم شریعت بوائی عمل است نه از بوائی ایذائی خلقی³

(The aim of acquiring knowledge of the religious law ('*ilm-i-Sharī'at*) is to act upon it and not to harass people.)

Though a profound scholar himself, he never used his scholarship to overawe others. There was a magnetic force in his humility and sympathy which is the essence of true scholarship. (1) Maulānā Dīā-u'd-dīn was an eminent scholar of Dehlī. He knew many sciences but had no knowledge of *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence) and *Naḥv* (Syntax). Once he went to see the Shaiḫ but was afraid that the Shaiḫ might ask him about matters which he did not know. But to display his learning or to make others feel the meagreness of their knowledge was not the Shaiḫ's habit. He asked Maulānā Dīā-u'd-dīn about those things only which he had fully mastered and the Maulānā returned from his company self-confident and elated.⁴ (2) Shaiḫ Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq

¹ *Early Islamic Mysticism*, Vidyapitha Commemoration Volume, p. 71.

² *Tārīkh-i-Firighat*, Vol. II, p. 383.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 85.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 85.

who later on became the Shaiikh's disciple and son-in-law, was an eminent scholar of his day. He was held in high esteem in the literary circles of Dehli. In the course of his studies he came across some difficulties which, in spite of his efforts, he could not solve. The scholars of Dehli failed to help him in the matter. At last he thought of undertaking a journey to Buḡhārā and place his difficulties before the scholars of that renowned centre of Muslim learning. He left Dehli with a heavy load of books. While passing through Ajodhan he heard about the erudition and scholarship of Bābā Farīd. He decided to see the saint. Much to his surprise and astonishment the saint solved all his difficulties in a few unassuming words. Shaiikh Badr-u'd-dīn fell at the feet of the saint and became his disciple.¹ (3) Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā had completed his education at the feet of the most talented and gifted teachers of Dehli. His own attainments were remarkable. But, when he heard the Shaiikh discussing abstruse problems in an extremely simple, clear and lucid manner, he was taken by surprise. "It enchanted one's very soul," he used to say about the Shaiikh's power of expression and exposition, "You felt like giving up the ghost at that very place."²

Bābā Farīd's main subject of study was the *Qur'ān*. He had devoted much of his time and energy to it and in fact his knowledge and understanding of the Holy Book was remarkable. He taught six parts of the *Qur'ān* to Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā who could never, during his life, forget the Shaiikh's charming and inimitable manner of reciting it.³

Besides, Bābā Farīd had a wide and extensive knowledge of the mystic literature. He laid special emphasis on the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*'⁴ of Shaiikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī and considered it to be an indispensable study for a mystic selected by his master for the grant of *Khilāfat*.

The author of *Gulzār-i-Abrār* says that Shaiikh Farīd had prepared an excellent commentary on the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*'. His reference to this commentary gives the impression that he had seen it, but none of our medieval records refer to it.⁵ The fact however remains that

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 89-90 ;

Siyar-u'l-Auliā, pp. 70-71.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*, p. 170.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 75. He used to say that whoever desired to commit the *Qur'ān* to memory should begin with the *Surah-i-Yusuf*. *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*, p. 438.

⁴ It was first published in Cairo on the margin of *Ihyā* of Imām Ghazzālī. It was translated into Persian under the title: *Misbāh-u'l-Hidāyah wa-Miftāh-u'l-Kifāyah*, by 'Izz-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd bin 'Alī Kāshānī (ob. 735 A.H./1334 A.D.). Published by Newal Kishore, Lucknow in 1904. Another well annotated edition from Irān by Aghā Jalāl-u'd-dīn Humā'i. H. Wilberforce Clarke translated it into English from the Persian version and published it in an appendix to his translation of *Ilāfīz*. (London, 1891).

Bābā Farīd gave his copy of the '*Awārif*' to Shaiikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hānswī who later on entrusted it to Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā. Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā granted it to Shaiikh Qutb-u'd-dīn Munawwar. *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*, pp. 249-250.

⁵ The best known commentary on the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*' from the pen of an Indian scholar is the *Dhawārif-u'l-Laṭā'if fi Sharḥ 'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif* by Shaiikh Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mahā'imī (ob. 835 A.H./1431 A.D.). MSS in the Rāmpūr and the Bānkīpūr libraries.

Bābā Farīd was keenly interested in the book and probably the credit of introducing it in India and making it a part of the mystic syllabus goes to him.

Had Bābā Farīd seen Shaiḫ Shihāb-u'd-dīn? Our earlier authorities do not say a word about it, but later works,¹ probably inspired by the fabricated *Malḡūzāt*,² say that Bābā Farīd had met the great Suhrawardī saint and was deeply impressed by him. The author of *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* says that Shaiḫ Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī had presented him a copy of his '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'arīf*' with the remark :

این را مطالعم کنید که مخصوص بوائی شما ساختم ایم

(Study it because I have compiled it specially for you.)

While nothing definite can be said on this point, one cannot fail to find an element of personal attachment in the attitude of Bābā Farīd towards the author of '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'arīf*'.³

Bābā Farīd was also interested in the works of Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, a close friend and companion of his master, Khawāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Baḫtiyār Kākī. The Qāḍī's works formed a very difficult reading and a great scholar of the middle ages is reported to have told his pupils : "Whatever you have read is in these books (of Qāḍī Ḥamīd) ; whatever you have not read is also in these books ; whatever I have read is here and whatever I have not read is also here."⁴ However Bābā Farīd had full grasp of these works and could very effectively explain them before his disciples. He taught *Law'ih* to Shams-i-Dabīr.⁵

Bābā Farīd was keenly interested in books and it seems that he possessed a library⁶ of standard works on religion and mysticism. In the fabricated *Malḡūz* literature he is made to refer to a very large number of books.⁷ A few anecdotes about the Shaiḫ mentioned in the *Siyar u'l-Auliya* and other works show that he had a very thorough knowledge of the Arabic grammar.

¹ *Sab' Sanābil* p. 55 ; *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, MS.

² The *Rūḥat-u'l-Qulūb* attributes this statement to Shaiḫ Farīd :

” شیخ شهاب الدین سهروردی قدس اللہ سرہ العزیز را این دعا گو دیدہ

است و چند روز بخندمت ایشان ہم بودہ “

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 75.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 241.

⁵ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 128.

⁶ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 187.

⁷ e.g. *Kitāb-i-Umdah*, *Asrār-u'l-'Arifān*, *Tafsīr-i-Imām Zāhid*, *Dalīl-i-Insān*, by Khawāja Shafiq Baḫhī, *Maḡāriq-u'l-Anwār*, '*Aqd-i-Kitāb*', *Athar-u't-Taba'in Sharḥ-i-Ulāmā*, *Rāḥat-u'l-Arwāḥ*, by Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, *Sharḥ-i-Maḡārikh*, *Fatāwa-i-Kubrā*, *Qūt-u'l-Qulūb*, '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'arīf*', *Fatāwa-i-Zāhiriya*, *Kitāb-i-Tanbīh*, *Sharḥ-i-Auliya*, by Khawāja Mawdūd Chishtī, *Kitāb-i-Rauḍa*, *Athār-i-Auliya*, *Jāma'-u'l-Hikāyāt*, *Tafsīr-i-Kaḡhshāf*, *Kitāb-i-Kifāyah*, *Aurād-i-Shaiḫ* *Uthmān* *Harvanī*, and *Sharḥ-i-Shaiḫ* *u'l-Islām* *Mu'in-u'd-dīn*.

CHAPTER XVI

The Poet

A heart overflowing with feelings of love and devotion could hardly resist its expression in verse. Bābā Farīd composed verses in Arabic, Persian and in some local dialects. Amir Khurd has quoted, at different places in his book, the following verses of the Shaiḵh :

بقدر رنج یابی سروری را

بشب بیدار بودن مهتری را

(You will get honour in proportion to the pains that you undertake in your work. Keeping awake at night brings greatness.)

لو كان هذا العلم يدرك بالمنى ما كان يبقى في البرية جاهل

فاجهد ولا تكسل ولا تك غافلا فندامة العقبى لمن يتكاسل

(If it would have been possible to acquire knowledge through aspiring alone, there would have been no illiterate in this world. You should strive hard and shed away lethargy for shame is reserved for the indolent on the Day of Judgement.)

رضينا قسمة الجبار فينا

لنا علم وللمجهل مال

(We are satisfied with the distribution made by God. There is *knowledge* for us and *wealth* for the ignorant.)

رودل بکسی ده که نمیرد تا تو

از درد فراق او نگری باری¹

قبایش را شدم بنده که چون بکشد بنشیند

ولی خصم کمر بندم که چون بر پشت برخیزد

(رباعی)

از نور جلال مرد مطلق خیزد و از شوق خدانگر چه رونق خیزد

این خاطر مردان چه عجائب بکری است چون موج زند هم انا الحق خیزد

تو گدائی دور باش از بادشاه تا نیاید بر در تو دور باش

گر وصال شاه میداری طمع از وصال خویشتن مهجور باش

¹ With reference to this and the three couplets that follow, Amir Khurd says : "*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, (بر زبان شیخ شیخ العالم فرید الحق و الدین گذشتہ است" pp. 464, 473, 476, 363). It may mean either that somebody's verse was quoted by the Shaiḵh or that it was composed by the saint himself. I am inclined to interpret it in the latter sense for two reasons : (i) Where Amir Khurd makes Bābā Farīd quote somebody else's verse, he writes simply خواند e.g. on p. 503 where Bābā Farīd recites a verse of Nizāmī. (ii) These verses have been quoted by Amir Khurd in contexts quite unrelated to the Shaiḵh. Had these verses been composed by somebody else, he could have very well mentioned the name, or if he did not know that, he could say, as he has very often done in his book, بزرگی گفتم. These four verses have been woven by him in the narrative because they very neatly express the point in discussion and the context shows that he considers them to be Bābā Farīd's compositions.

(رہا می)

دوشینہ شبنم دل حزینم بگرفت و اندیشہ یار نازنینم بگرفت
گفتم بسر و دیدہ روم بدر تو اشکم بدوید و آستینم بگرفت

المباحثۃ بین الاثنین
خیر من تکرار السنین

ای مدعی بدعوی چندین مکن دلیری
یک حرف را زمعنی سم صد جواب باشد

خورش دہ بکنجشک و یک و ہمام
کہ ناگہ ہمائی در افتد بدام

ان ارذل الناس
من اشغل بالاکل واللباس

The following verse in some local dialect was also composed by the saint :

کنت نہوہتین گارری نا کان ہت منای
بسی کندلی مدہن گر ہو رین لہد لہا¹

The following verses were often recited by the Shaiikh, but it cannot be said definitely whether they are his own compositions :

عشق تو مرا اسیر و حیران کردہ است در کوئی خرابات پریشان کردہ است
باین ہمہ رنج و مصحت ای دوست بین اسوار تو در دلم کمر پنهان کردہ است

گیوم کہ بشب نماز بسیار کنی در روز دوائی شخص بیمار کنی
تا دل نکنی ز غصہ و کین خالی صد خرمن گل بر سر یک خار کنی

گرمی نہد ہجر تو وصلت یارم
با خاک سر کوئی تو کاری دارم

چو درویش را کار بالا کشید
بیک لحظہ سر در تریا کشید
چنان غرق گردد بدربائی عشق
کہ یک دم سراز عشق بالا کشید

Dr. Maulvi 'Abd-u'l Haqq has quoted in his book ; "*The Sufi's work in the early Development of Urdu Language*,"² the following Urdū verses as specimens of Bābā Farid's poetic compositions :

اساکیری بیی سوریٹ
جاؤن نا ئے کہ جاؤن مسیت

تن دھونے سے دل جو ہونا پوک پیش رو اصفیا کے ہوتے فوک
ریش سبالت سے گر بڑے ہوتے بوکڑوان سے نہ کوئی بڑے ہوتے
خاک لانے سے گر خدا پائین گائے بیلاں بھی واصلان ہو جائیں

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 367.

² Published by the *Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu*, Dehli, 1939, pp. 7-9.

گوش گری میں گر خدا ملتا
گوش چویان (۹) کوئی نہ واصل تھا

عشق کا رموز نیارا ہے
جز مدد پیڑے نہ چارا ہے

وقت مہر وقت مناجات ہے خیزد ران وقت کہ برکات ہے
نفس مبادا کہ بگوید ترا خسپ چہ خیزی کہ ابھی رات ہے
باتن تنہا چہ روی زیر زمین نیک عمل کن کہ رمی سات ہے
پند شکر گنج کہ بدل جان شنو ضایع مکن عمر کہ ہیہات ہے

جلی یاد کی کرنا ہر گھڑی یک ٹل حضور سون ٹلنا نہیں
اٹھ بیٹھ میں یاد سون شاد رہنا گواہ دار کو چھوڑے چلنا نہیں
پاک رکھ تون دل کو غیر مٹی آج ساکین فرید کا آرتا ہے
قدیم قدیمی کہ آونے سین لازوال دولت کون پاوتا ہے

The learned writer has not given a critical account of the sources from which he has collected these verses. Their authenticity is doubtful in view of the fact that the *nome de-plumes* used here were never used by the saint.¹

Shaikh 'Abd-u'l Wāhid Ibrāhīm has quoted the following verses of Shaikh Farid in his book *Sab' Sanābil*, written in 969 A.H./1561 A.D.:²

ٹوپی لیندی باوری دیندی کھری نیچ
چوہا کڈہ نما نوی پچھی بندھتی چھج

منان من منائیان سر مٹی کیا ہوی³
کیفتن بھیڈان منیان سرگ نہ لدھی کوی

¹ 'Alī Asghar Chishtī also attributes to the great saint the following verse in which the *nome-de-plume* Farid occurs, but it is difficult to accept it as genuine.

فرید ادھر سولی سر نیچرے تلپان توکت کاک
رب اجیون نہ باہڑے سودھن اساڈے بھاگ

(*Jawāhar-i-Farīdī*, MS.)

² *Sab' Sanābil*, p. 58. Shaikh 'Abd-u'l Wāhid has thus rendered these verses into Persian:

نادان تو سمت مرد گم گیر بیخورد
مرد کلاہ دہ بیقین صحت بیعتیا
موشی کہ خود بوخنہ ننگند زنگیش
بندد بخویش بارگران در مضیق جا

ای سرتوش دل بتراش از هوایی نفس کڑ سر تراشیت نبود راہ دین حصول
چندین ہزار میش تراشیدہ ہر طرف زینہا یکی بدرگم مولی نشد قبول

³ Also as:

مونڈان منڈ منڈائیان سر مونڈین کیا ہوئی

Sab' Sanābil, p. 58.

CHAPTER XVII

Teachings of Shaikh Farid

Bābā Farīd's long life was devoted to the moral and spiritual culture of man. It is really unfortunate that no detailed account of his conversations was prepared. Amīr Khurd refers to a disciple who had collected his 500 sayings, but that work has not survived. What we have today from that book is a selection by Amīr Khurd. Shaiḳh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā says that he took down some notes from his conversations, but this work was probably meant for his personal use and was never published. Even Amīr Khurd who had access to the Shaiḳh's papers after his death did not find it in them. The two books *Asrār-u'l-Auliā*, and *Rahūt-u'l-Qulūb* are definitely fabrications of a later date and it would be utterly unjust to prepare an account of the Shaiḳh's teachings on their basis. One has therefore to fall back on the rather meagre information contained in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* and the *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*.

Shaiḳh Farīd was endowed with remarkable persuasive powers. A few anecdotes about him mentioned in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* throw considerable light on his accurate understanding of human nature and effective manner of advice.¹

A free translation of some of his sayings quoted by Amīr Khurd² is given below :—

1. Escaping from one's self is (a means of) attaining to God.
2. Do not satisfy the demands of the physical self, for the more you satisfy it, the more it demands.
3. Do not regard the ignorant as alive.
4. Give a wide berth to an ignorant man who poses as a learned one.
5. Do not utter a truth which resembles a lie.
6. Do not try to sell what people do not wish to buy.
7. Do not hanker after worldly self and glory.
8. Do not eat everybody's bread, but give bread to people (freely).
9. Do not forget death at any place.
10. Do not say anything as mere guess work.

¹ See *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 211-2 ; 215 ; 90 ; 147, etc.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*, pp. 76-77.

11. Whenever an evil befalls you consider it a punishment of your sins.
12. Do not boast of having committed a sin.
13. Do not make your heart a plaything of the devil.
14. Keep your internal self better than the external self.
15. Do not strive to display yourself.
16. Do not lower yourself in an attempt to secure a high position.
17. Do not borrow anything from either the weak or the upstarts.
18. Treat old families with respect.
19. Aspire for new (spiritual) attainments every day.
20. As far as possible prevent women from developing the habit of using abusive language.
21. Consider good health a blessing.
22. Show gratitude but do not place the obligation of gratefulness on others.
23. While doing good to others think that you are doing good to yourself.
24. Give up immediately the pursuit of a thing which your heart considers bad.
25. Do not retain a slave who wants to be sold.
26. Be always on the look out for a pretext for doing good.
27. Do not fight or quarrel in a manner which leaves no room for reconciliation.
28. Consider levity and anger as signs of weakness.
29. Do not consider yourself safe from an enemy howsoever conciliatory he might be towards you.
30. Whoever fears you fear him.
31. Do not place reliance on your strength.
32. Of all times self-restraint is most necessary at the time of sexual desire.
33. Do not forget religion when in company of the rich.
34. Greatness and honour consist in doing justice.
35. Be generous when you have wealth.
36. There can be no substitute for religion.
37. There can be no equivalent to time.
38. Show generosity to the righteous man.
39. Consider haughtiness necessary in dealing with the proud ones.

40. Do not entertain guests with extravagance.
41. When God visits you with some calamity, do not turn away from it.
42. Consider a *durwesh* who lives in the hope of riches as avaricious.
43. Entrust the country to a God-fearing Wazīr.
44. Defeat your enemy by consulting him and captivate your friend by your politeness.
45. Consider worldliness as an unforeseen calamity.
46. Be critical of your own shortcomings.
47. Acquire wealth by merit so that it may last for ever.
48. Acquire knowledge through humility.
49. Do not lose your temper at the bitter words of the enemy and do not lose your shield by being overpowered with anger.
50. If you do not want to be held in disgrace do not beg for anything.
51. If you want to make the entire world your enemy develop pride.
52. Conceal your good and bad things.
53. Protect religion by knowledge.
54. If you want greatness associate with the downtrodden.
55. If you want ease and comfort, do not be jealous.
56. Accept affliction as a present.
57. Work in a way that you may get (eternal) life after death.

These sayings of the Shaiḵh are not dry aphorisms. They epitomise the essence of morality and wisdom and are deeply steeped in the mystic ideology. The Shaiḵh always tried to impress, by precept and example, upon the minds of his followers that the supreme aim of a mystic's life should be to create love and affection in the hearts of the people. One day a man presented a pair of scissors to him. "Give me a needle," he told the man, "I sew (and join) ; I do not cut (and divide)."¹

Shaiḵh Farīd wanted his disciples to develop complete faith in God because this faith alone could bring about a concentration and intensification of human powers. One day, while leaning on his staff, his mood changed and he threw his staff away. Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn was present at that time. He was surprised at the sudden change in the Shaiḵh's mood. When he inquired about the reason, the Shaiḵh replied : "I was reprimanded because I put faith in others than Him."²

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 226.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 81.

Bābā Farīd one day informed his audience that four questions were put to 700 saints and all of them gave the same reply.¹ These questions were :

1. *Who is the wisest ?* "One who rejects the world," they replied.
 2. *Who is the most saintly ?* "One who does not get changed at everything."
 3. *Who is the richest and the wealthiest of all men ?* "One who is content."
 4. *Who is the most needy ?* "One who gives up contentment."
- Shaikh Farīd advised his disciples to develop independence of spirit and place their requests before God alone. "God," he told his disciples, "feels ashamed when he rejects the requests of a man who raises his hands in supplication."²

A life of poverty (*Faqr*) and resignation (*Tawakkul*) was the frequent burthen of Bābā Farīd's discourses. He wanted his disciples to accept the life of penury and penitence with pleasure and devote themselves to Him and Him alone. He was keenly conscious of the fact that the highest spiritual aspirations of man are apt to become stifled by the weight of his material possessions and that riches often arrest the growth and expansion of the spirit. "The day of failure," he used to say, "is the night of the highest spiritual ascension."³

Time is the most precious thing in the possession of a *durwesh* and he should take full care of it. Time and again Bābā Farīd would revert to this theme and explain to his disciples the value of time. Imām *Shāfi'i*, he said, served the *gūfis* for ten years and then he came to know the value of time.⁴

Shaikh Farīd did not want his disciples to waste their time in idle or loose talk. "One should work," he told his disciples, "and should not loose himself in the talks of the people." He approvingly quoted the remarks of Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrizi: "Many utterances lull the heart and make it indifferent (to the Divine messages). Only that thing should be uttered which is for the Lord alone."⁵

A *faqir* who wears new clothes, the Shaikh said, wraps himself in a shroud.⁶ He tried to bring home to the heart of his disciples the fact that a life of ease and comfort is really incompatible with the requirements of the life of a *durwesh*.

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 74.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 74.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 74.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 74.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 75.

⁶ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 75.

The following precepts and sayings of the Shaiḫ deserve to be noted as they clearly indicate his views about some matters of vital importance :

1. *Zakāt* is of three kinds : *Zakāt-i-Sharī'at*, *Zakāt-i-Ṭarīqat* and *Zakāt-i-Ḥaqīqat*. *Zakāt-i-Sharī'at* is that one gives 5 *dirhams* out of 20 ; *Zakāt-i-Ṭarīqat* means that one keeps 5 *dirhams* and gives 15 ; *Zakāt-i-Ḥaqīqat* means that all is given away and nothing is retained.¹

2. The Prophet used to say that blessed is the man whose knowledge of his own faults and defects prevents him from disclosing the faults of others.²

3. Mutual discussions are better than repetitions in loneliness.³

4. There is calamity in deliberation and safety in resignation to the will of God.⁴

5. The '*ulāmā* are nobler than the common people and the *faqīrs* are the noblest of all.⁵

6. The *faqīrs* occupy the same place in the midst of '*ulāmā* which the full moon occupies in the midst of the constellation of stars.⁶

7. The meanest of all people is one who busies himself exclusively in feeding and clothing himself.⁷

8. Mystic music (*Samā'*) moves the hearts of the listeners and breathes the fire of love in their hearts.⁸

Bābā Farīd wanted his disciples to be absolutely free from pride and arrogance. He advised them to develop a spirit of humility in their relations with their spiritual guide and master. One day he narrated before his disciples the following story of Shaiḫ Abū Sa'īd Abū'l Khair :⁹

"Once Shaiḫ Abū Sa'īd Abū'l Khair was riding on a horse. A *murīd*, who was walking on foot, saw him, and rushed to kiss his knee. The Shaiḫ said : 'Lower still'. The disciple kissed the Shaiḫ's feet. 'Lower still', said the Shaiḫ. Thereupon the disciple kissed the hoof of the horse. 'Lower still', repeated the Shaiḫ. The disciple then kissed the ground. The Shaiḫ then remarked : "In asking you to kiss 'still lower' my object was not to make you pay respects to myself. The lower you kissed the higher became your (spiritual rank)."¹⁰

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 103.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 75.

³ to ⁸ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 75-76 ; 546.

⁹ Shaiḫ Abū Sa'īd Fadl-u'llah bin Abū'l Khair (967-1049 A.D.) is an eminent figure in the history of Islamic mysticism. It was he who first impressed on the Persian *rubā'ī* the mystical stamp. His biographical details may be read in the *Asrār-u'l-Tauḥīd-fi-Maqāmāt-i-Shaiḫ Abi Sa'īd* (compiled between 1157-1203 A.D.) edited by Aḥmad Bahmanyār (Ṭihrān, 1934 A.D.). The Chishtī mystics of India had great respect for him. Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and Shaiḫ Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī have frequently referred to him in their conversations. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 7, 13 etc. ; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 340, etc. ; *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 38, 80, 84, 110 etc.

¹⁰ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 215.

Sab' Sanābil (p. 68) wrongly attributes this story to Shaiḫ Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī and Sayyid Muḥammad Gesū Darāz.

CHAPTER XVIII

Baba Farid's Spiritual Discipline

The credit of stabilizing the Chishtī order in India goes to Bābā Farid. As Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya had once remarked, he belonged to that group of mystics who had made mysticism a mass movement and had admitted all sorts of people to the mystic discipline in order to create religious consciousness in them.¹ Bābā Farid's long, sincere and strenuous application to the cause of the *Silsilah* immensely raised its prestige. People flocked round him from far and near and learnt at his feet the moral and spiritual doctrines of the Chishtī order.

Broadly speaking, Bābā Farid's disciples comprised men of two types—those who had made up their minds to consecrate their lives completely to religion, and those who joined his discipleship for their spiritual betterment, yet carried on their worldly pursuits. From the second type of his disciples the Shaiḵh rarely expected anything more than honest dealings with their fellow men and regular performance of their obligatory religious duties. From his higher disciples he demanded complete severance of all earthly ties and selfless devotion to the cause of religion. He was satisfied if a *murid* belonging to the second category regularly paid *Zakāt-i-Shar'i'at* (one fourth of what he possessed), but a higher disciple had to pay *Zakāt-i-Haqiqat* (all that he possessed).² This higher class of disciples consisted of those persons whom the Shaiḵh desired to appoint as his *Khalifah*. He advised them as follows :—

- (i) Spiritual progress lies in the discipline of soul and the purification of inner life, not in the mechanical performance of prayers. If *ma'rifat* is desired, anger, jealousy and hatred should be completely wiped out from the heart.³
- (ii) Gnosis is beyond the reach of one who consorts with kings.⁴ Minionism weakens the moral fibre and kills the freedom of the soul.
- (iii) Trusteeship causes distraction in the singleminded pursuit of spiritual ideals. This responsibility should never be accepted.⁵

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 347.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 103.

³ See *Supra* p. 85.

⁴ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 363.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 325.

Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya informs us that Shaiḵh Farid used to say :

کسی کہ امانت قبول کند اور از مریدان من نباشد

- (iv) There should be no quarrel with anybody in this world. Even enemies should be pleased and placated.¹
- (v) Obligations should be fulfilled, and duties should be performed.²
- (vi) Religious knowledge and learning is a pre-requisite to spiritual discipline.³

Shaiikh Farīd took considerable pains in building up healthy and integrated personalities of his disciples. He persistently asked them to develop self-reliance and evolve the inner richness of their being. He cultivated their emotions and tutored their intellects. It was his firm conviction that intellect, uninspired by Love and uncontrolled by faith in moral and spiritual values, acts as a force of disintegration in human life. He familiarised his disciples with the higher religious thought by teaching standard mystic works to them and disciplined their inner lives by a careful cultivation and control of their emotions. He did not spin fine ideas but expressed in his life the accumulated wisdom of the mystic creed and thus prepared his disciples both emotionally and intellectually for the arduous task of guiding the destinies of the *silsilah*. Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya's life is a glaring illustration of the way in which his example inspired his disciples and moulded their thought and character. At every new problem that cropped up in his *Jamā'at Khānah* and at every critical phase in his life, Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya's mind went back to his master and he tried to emulate him as best as he could.⁴ It was at the feet of Shaiikh Farīd that he learnt his lessons in pacifism, cosmopolitanism and renunciation of the materialistic pursuits.

Shaiikh Farīd considered *Khilāfat* to be a very serious and sacred duty which could be assigned to a disciple possessing rare qualities of head and heart. While appointing Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya as his successor, he remarked :⁵

”باری تعالیٰ نورا علم و عقل و عشق داده است و هر که بدین صفت موصوف باشد ازو خلافت مشایخ نیکو آید“

(God Almighty has given thee knowledge, wisdom and cosmic emotion and he alone who possesses these three qualities is qualified to discharge the duties of the *Khilāfat* of saints).

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 140 ; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 330.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 140.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 107.

⁴ (a) A *Jawāliq* comes to see Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya who can, following the practice of Shaiikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā, refuse to see him, but this is not the tradition of his master. He welcomes the *Jawāliq* and tells his audience : “Shaiikh-u'l-Islām Farīd-u'd-dīn welcomed every one.” *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 5.

(b) A woman joins the discipleship of Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya whose mind goes back to his master who was a great believer in the capabilities of women. “Shaiikh-u'l-Islām Farīd-u'd-dīn has often said about a woman who lived in Inderpat : She is a man who has been sent in the form of woman.” *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 22.

(c) A *Jawāliq* comes to Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and begins to abuse him. The Shaiikh hears him patiently because his master had behaved like-wise under similar circumstances. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 48.

To multiply examples one needs only turn over the pages of the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 345.

Indiscriminate grant of *Khilāfat*, which became a feature of later-day mysticism, was strongly disapproved by Shaikh Farīd. He used to say: "The saints bestow their *Khilāfat* in three ways: First is the *Rahmanī* way which is the best and the stablest. There are plenty of blessings and benedictions in it. It is this: God directly puts it into the heart of a *Shaikh* to give his *Khilāfat* to a particular person. The second way is that a Shaikh considers a disciple capable and (keeping his qualifications in mind) decides to grant his *Khilāfat* to him. In it there is a possibility of a Shaikh's opinion being right or wrong. The third way is that a *Shaikh* grants *Khilāfat* to a particular person, not of his own accord, but due to somebody's recommendation or as a matter of grace.¹"

All those mystics whom Shaikh Farīd gave his *Khilāfat Nāmahs* were required to get the document endorsed by his senior disciples, particularly Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hānswī.² Whether the Shaikh's aim in adopting this procedure was to have the benefit of a second opinion or to impress upon the mind of the newly appointed *Khālīfah* the superiority of Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn or to keep the senior disciples informed about the additions to the inner circle, cannot be definitely stated. It was, however, rigorously enforced and the saint once refused to grant his *Khilāfat* to a disciple whose *Khilāfat Nāmah* had been torn by Shaikh Jamāl.³

Shaikh Farīd took all possible measures to see that his *Khilāfat Nāmahs* were not forged or fabricated. One day he asked Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq to prepare a few copies of his *Khilāfat Nāmah* for some persons whom he desired to appoint his *Khālīfahs*. A disciple who had served the Shaikh long and devotedly but was not considered for *Khilāfat* remarked in disgust: "If the Shaikh himself does not give me *Khilāfat*, I can prepare a document like this and busy myself in the work (of enrolling disciples)." The Shaikh was alarmed and he instructed Maulānā

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 345.

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya comes under the first category (*Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 224) and Maulānā Fakhr-u'd-dīn Ṣafāhānī under the third (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 345-346).

² When Shaikh Farīd gave his *Khilāfat Nāmah* to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya he instructed him to show the document to Maulānā Jamāl-u'd-dīn in Hānsī and Qāḍī Muntajab in Dehli. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn was surprised at the omission of the name of Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil, a senior disciple and brother of the saint; but when he reached Dehli he found, to his great surprise and grief, that Shaikh Najīb had already died. When Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn showed the document to Shaikh Jamāl, he was immensely delighted and recited the following couplet:

خدائی جهان را هزاران سپاس
 کہ گوهر سپردہ بگوهر شناس

(Thousands of thanks to the Lord of the Universe that the jewel has been assigned to one who knows its value.)

Siyar-u'l-Auliya, pp. 116-117.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 178-179.

Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq put his name also as the scribe of the document in order to prevent forgery by unscrupulous persons.¹

Maulānā Fakhr-u'd-dīn Ṣafāhānī's case is very significant in this connection. He was a prominent figure of Bilgrām. He sent a saint, Dā'ūd, to Shaiḥ Farīd to request him on his behalf to grant him a *Khilāfat Nāmāh*. "People pester me for the mystic cap," he said in his message. Shaiḥ Farīd refused to accede to his request. Dā'ūd stayed on in the *Jamā'at khānah* and approached some dear disciples of the Shaiḥ for recommending his case. Shaiḥ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā and the saint's son, Maulānā Shihāb-u'd-dīn, pleaded for the grant of *Khilāfat Nāmāh* to Maulānā Fakhr-u'd-dīn but the Shaiḥ firmly declined with the remark :

”این کار حق است بآرزو نیست، هرکم قابل باشد نخواستم بپاید“

(This is Divine Work and cannot be assigned to (everyone) who desires it. The qualified one gets it without asking for it.)

Shaiḥ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā did not persist in his request at that time but later on, finding the Shaiḥ in a generous mood, he repeated his request. The Shaiḥ accepted his recommendation and granted *Khilāfat* to Maulānā Ṣafāhānī. Shaiḥ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā tells us that the Maulānā could not achieve any success in his work because the Shaiḥ had conferred *Khilāfat* on him under pressure and very reluctantly.²

Bābā Farīd was opposed to the practice of becoming the *murīd* of a dead saint by wearing a cap at his grave. One of his sons once went to the grave of Shaiḥ Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, shaved his head and declared that he had become a disciple of the great saint. When Bābā Farīd heard about this he declared emphatically :

”شیخ قطب الدین خواجه و مکتوم ما است - اما این بیعت درست

نباشد - ارادت و بیعت آنست که دست شیخی گیرند“³

(Shaiḥ Quṭb-u'd-dīn is my spiritual guide and master, but this form of initiation is not proper. Initiation and discipleship means that one should grasp the hand of a Shaiḥ).

The success of Bābā Farīd's spiritual discipline lay in the extraordinary qualities of his head and heart. His keen intuitive intelligence

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā*, p. 221.

Consequently, the *Khilāfat Nāmāh*s of Shaiḥ Farīd contained the following words :

”زهرت هذه الاسطر بعون الله على يداضعف الفقير الى الله الغنى

اسحاق بن علي بن اسحاق الدهلوي بمشافته“

Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā p. 118.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā*, pp. 345-346.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 78. Amīr Khurd quotes the last sentence, thus :

”بیعت آنست که دست شیخی که بظاهر حی باشد گیرند“

Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā, p. 326.

(*nafs-i-girā*) helped him in reaching the inner most recesses of a disciple's heart. A casual glance at a *murīd*'s face revealed his weakness and strength to him. With this sharp and penetrating insight into human nature, Bābā Farīd proved to be a teacher *par excellence*.¹ He helped his disciples in developing their morally autonomous personalities. To assist a person in attaining to his full spiritual and moral stature is a very difficult task. Sympathy, love, understanding, tact and occasional severity alone can ensure this. Bābā Farīd had all these qualities and many more. The following anecdotes will give some idea of his deep understanding of human nature.

(1) Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya reached Ajodhan after having won his laurels in the highest academic circles of Dehlī. He was an excellent debator and was known as *Nizām-u'd-dīn Maḥfil Shikan*. One day the Shaikh was teaching the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*' to his disciples. His manuscript had some copyist's mistakes and so he had to proceed slowly and in a halting manner, correcting the mistakes and removing the inaccuracies. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn, interrupting the Shaikh, said that Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil had a good manuscript of the book. Shaikh Farīd was irritated and annoyed. "Has this *durvesh* no capacity of correcting a defective manuscript?" he exclaimed repeatedly. When Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn realised that his master had disapproved of his remarks, he fell at his feet and humbly begged him to forgive his insolence. But Shaikh Farīd's anger did not subside. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn was overtaken by deep grief. In a mood of extreme mental depression he even thought of committing suicide. He went into the wilderness, weeping and crying. Shaikh Farīd's son, Nizām-u'd-dīn, who was a close friend of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, was deeply touched by this condition of his friend and he interceded on his behalf and secured the Shaikh's pardon. Shaikh Farīd called his disciple nearer and said: "All this I have done for your perfection ... A *pīr* is a dresser of brides (مشاط)." ²

¹ Shaikh Farīd watched the lives of his disciples carefully and whenever there was an opportunity of teaching them a lesson, he was not the man to miss it. (i) One day an intelligent and well-read student, Sharf-u'd-dīn, came to see him. "What about your studies?" enquired Shaikh Farīd. "Now I have forgotten everything," replied Sharf-u'd-dīn. The Shaikh found in this reply detestable signs of intellectual arrogance and when the visitor had left, he turned to his disciples and said: "This man displayed pride". *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 80.

(ii) Once some six or seven young and handsome saints, connected with the *Chishtī Silsilah*, brought their disputes for arbitration to Shaikh Farīd. The Shaikh called Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq to his presence while they presented their case before him. The saints explained their differences with extreme courtesy and politeness. "That day you spoke like this. I submitted like this. Then you said this. I did not understand you and I wrongly replied like this." The other man replied in the same humble manner. This courtesy and politeness brought tears into the eyes of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq and they realized the Shaikh's aim in asking them to be present at that time. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya used to say: "They were angles of Truth sent to teach us as to how we should settle our disputes." *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 81.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 26-27.

Apparently Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā's remark seems quite innocent, but the Shaiḵh's intuitive intelligence found in it a trace of that intellectual snobbishness which distinctions and laurels in the academic circles of Dehli may have produced in him. To eliminate this he resorted to the severest rebuke possible.

(2) After completing his education at Dehli Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā turned to the culture of his soul and came to Ajodhan. One day he met an old companion and class-fellow. Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn's clothes were grimy and tattered. His friend was much surprised at this condition of a brilliant student who was expected to have a fine career. "Maulānā Nizām-u'd-dīn!" he exclaimed, "What misfortune has befallen you? Had you taken to the teaching profession at Dehli, you would have become the leading scholar of the time and would have prospered." Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn did not give any reply. He came to his master and told him all that had happened. "What would be your answer to such a question?" asked Shaiḵh Farīd. "As the Shaiḵh directs," replied Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn. "Tell him," Shaiḵh Farīd replied :

نہ ہمرہی تو مرا، راہ خویش گیر، برو
ترا سعادت بادا، مرا نگوں ساری

(You are not my fellow-traveller. Follow your path. Get along.
May prosperity be your share in life and misfortune mine.)

The Shaiḵh then asked his disciple to order a tray of every variety of food from his kitchen and carry them on his head to his friend.¹

The incident is simple but has its significance. It rooted out once for ever any desire for the easy and comfortable life of *shughl* (government service) that might have lingered on in the mind of Shaiḵh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā, and made clear to him the fact that the requirements of the life he had chosen for himself were entirely different from the life his friend was leading or wanted him to lead.

(3) Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq was a man of very intense mystic emotions. At times he was completely lost in his trances and tears flowed constantly from his eyes. One day Shaiḵh Farīd asked him to lead the prayer. Maulānā Ishāq, instead of reciting the *Qur'ān*, chanted a Persian verse and fell down unconscious. When he recovered his senses, Bābā Farīd again ordered him to lead the prayer and to behave properly.² One day the Shaiḵh called him, but he was so deeply lost in his mystic contemplation that he did not respond. The Shaiḵh became angry and when the Maulānā came to him, he said : "All your previous prayers and devotion have been lost. Busy yourself in your work again."³ Bābā

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 239.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 172. The following verse was recited by him :

پیش سیاست غمش روح چه نطق نمیزند . ای ز هزار صعوہ کم پیش تونوا چہ میزنی

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 177.

Farid was a believer in the life of *Sahv* (Sobriety) and he could not allow his disciples to develop interest in the life of uncontrolled ecstasy.

A KHILĀFAT NĀMAH

Fortunately for us, Amir Khurd has copied the *Khilāfat Nāmah* which was given by Shaikh Farid to his disciple Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. It throws sufficient light on the aims and objects of the mystics in granting *Khilāfat Nāmahs* to their successors.

“In the name of God, Most Gracious and Most Merciful.... He alone deserves all praises. He is the First and the Last, the Appearance and the Reality.... Whomsoever He elevates none can bring down and whomsoever He throws down none can elevate. None can bring to light what He has concealed and none can conceal whatever He has revealed... And Blessings on the holy Prophet Muḥammad and on his descendants, Companions and others.... I declare after praise of God and His Prophet that the study of the sciences of the *Hadīth* opens the heart of the people and gives light to him who studies it.... In '*Ilm-i-Uṣūl*' the best book is the *Tamhīd-u'l-Muhtadī* of Abū Shakūr.... This book has been studied under me, lesson by lesson, from the beginning to the end, minutely, attentively, carefully and thoroughly by the dutiful son, pious, the *imām* of the age, Nizām-u'l-Millat-w'ad-Dīn Muḥammad bin Aḥmad, who is an adornment of the *imūms* and scholars and the pride of the holy and the virtuous,.... May God bless him with the desire of submission to Him and be merciful to him. While teaching him I found him capable, talented, well-behaved and goodmannered. I now permit him to teach this book to students, provided he avoids mistakes in teaching, writing and explaining and utilises his energy and knowledge in deliberation, correcting the manuscript and the purification of the language.... This letter of permission was written by the order of the Shaikh of the Shaikhs of the world, may God ever protect his honour and prestige, and was written by the humble slave of God, Ishāq son of 'Alī son of Ishāq, a resident of Dehlī, on Wednesday in the month of Ramadān, in the presence of the Shaikh of the Shaikhs of the world.

“I also permit Nizām-u'd-dīn to narrate things which he has learnt or heard from me and has collected and preserved. He should follow the right course and may blessings be on him. I also permit him to adopt isolation in some mosque, in which prayers are offered in congregation.... The basis of this isolation is the tradition of the Prophet: '*Live in the world like a traveller or a wayfarer and count yourself among the dead.*' Consequently, the person who, in accordance with this tradition has made up his mind and summoned up his courage, is permitted to adopt seclusion, provided he controls the cravings of the flesh and thinks himself non-existent and weak, and renounces the world and its attractions. He must also have aknowledge of the harm of worldly ambition

and temptations. The time of such a recluse becomes adorned with various devotions when his *nafs* (lower soul) is prevented from coming back to the ordinary devotions from the higher devotions. If the struggle wears him out, he should calm his passions either by religious devotions or by sleeping for a while, for this pacification prevents the supremacy of the passions. One should abstain from idle seclusion because this makes one's heart neglectful. May God protect Nizām-u'l-Ḥaqq-wad-dīn from such evils and guide him aright. *Nizām-u'd-dīn is really my successor and deputy in things worldly and religious, and obedience to him is obedience to me.* May God be kind to them who show respect and honour to Nizām-u'd-dīn, whom I honour and for whom I have great regard. If anyone does not respect him, may God disgrace him. All these words are from *faqīr* Mas'ūd¹."

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 117-119.

CHAPTER XIX

Attitude Towards The State

Muslim mystics of the early middle ages, particularly those belonging to the Chishtī *Silsilah*, severed all direct contacts with the government of the time and developed an attitude of contemptuous indifference towards it.¹ This attitude embodied the reaction of the religious minded Mussalmāns to the worldliness of the rulers and their un-Islamic ways. They noticed with disgust and dismay the spectacle of Muslim rulers drifting away from the ideals of Islām and wallowing in the mud and mire of sordid materialism. To them Islām conneted something nobler and higher than these rulers conceived it to be. Islām did not come as a force for the founding of empires, but to ennoble man and to enable him to realise the best in him. Since the governing classes had relegated that ideal to the background, the mystics turned their backs on the state. They could bow their knees before Islam but not before thrones. The days when service of the State meant service of Islam were dead and gone. Now the state stood for class interests and the mystic was not prepared to serve those interests and direct the energies of a world force into the parochial channels of dynastic ambitions.

Besides, it was believed that *shughl* and *jāgirdārī* were fetters that ate into the soul. They retarded the pace of spiritual progress and exercised a morbid influence on the healthy development of the cosmic emotion in man. True to the long established traditions of higher mysticism, Bābā Farīd developed an attitude of complete indifference towards the government of the day. His clear and unequivocal advice to his disciples was :—

لواردتم بلوغ درجه الكبار فعليكم بعدم الا التقات الى ابناء الملوك

(If you desire elevation in your spiritual ranks, do not mix with the princes of the blood).

Throughout his long life he stuck to this principle with remarkable determination and sincerity. Neither continued starvation nor the allurements of court-life could change his attitude towards the government of the day. From the death of Iltutmish to the rise of Balban there was a general laxity in the administration, and politicians and theologians vied with each other in dabbling in the affairs of the state. Eminent

¹ For a detailed discussion of the problem, see the author's article : "Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and Their Attitude Towards The State." *Islamic Culture*, Volumes XXII, XXIII, XXIV.

theologians and divines had chosen the life of politicians and were weltering in the dirty waters of politics. Bābā Farīd never deviated from the path he had chosen for himself. Men who came to seek his spiritual guidance were advised by him to give a wide berth to the rulers and the bureaucracy. When Sayyidī Maulā sought his permission to leave Ajodhan and to go to Dehli, he half-heartedly permitted him saying:

”اما یک نصیحت من نگم داری - با ملوک و امراء اختلاط نه کنی -
و آمد و شد ایشان را در خانه خود از مہلکات تصور کنی کہ ہر درویشی
کہ در اختلاط با ملوک و امراء بکشايد عاقبت او و خیم گردد“¹

(But keep in mind my one advice. Do not associate with kings and nobles. Regard their visits to your house as calamities. Every *durvesh* who opens the door of association with kings and nobles is doomed.)

Sayyidī Maulā disregarded the advice of the great saint and he had to pay a heavy penalty for it.²

Though living in a small and obscure town, Bābā Farīd's spiritual eminence attracted ministers and high government officers to his *Khānqah*. Once Sultān Nāṣir-ū'd-dīn expressed his desire to visit the *Shāikh*, but Ulūgh Khān (later known as Ghiyāth-ū'd-dīn Balban) prevailed upon him to give up the idea as he did not want the Sultān to establish contact with the saint. The shrewd minister told him that there was scarcity of water in Ajodhan while the number of the soldiers in the army was too large. He thus induced the Sultān to send him as his representative. Ulūgh Khān kissed the *Shāikh*'s feet and placed before him the royal gifts which consisted of a grant (*mithāl*) of four villages and some cash. "What is this?" enquired the *Shāikh* as Ulūgh Khān placed the royal presents before him. "Here is some cash and here is a *mithāl* of four villages which I have brought for you. The cash is for the *durveshes* and the *mithāl* is for you," Ulūgh Khān submitted. The *Shāikh* smiled and said: "Give this cash to me. I will distribute it among the *durveshes*. But take away this *mithāl*. There are many who desire it. Give it to them."³

Whenever the *Shāikh* accepted any cash he distributed it at once amongst the needy and the poor. He did not keep anything in his *Khānqah* even for a single night. A story mentioned in the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* very neatly illustrates the *Shāikh*'s practice. Once Balban sent a

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 207.

² For details of the incident, see Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 212, 'Isāmī: *Futuh-us-Salātīn*, pp. 210-213. See also Professor *Shāikh* 'Abd-ur Raghīd's excellent article on Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Firūz Shāh Khaljī in the *Muslim University Journal*, 1931, pp. 139-141.

³ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 99.

Siyar-u'l-Auliya, pp. 79-80.

tray of *tankahs* to him. The saint accepted the offer after considerable reluctance and ordered Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq to distribute that at once amongst the poor. The sun had already set and it was dark, but the Shaikh could not wait for the day. His *Jamā'at Khānah* was not a storehouse of presents from the king. Maulānā Badr u'd-dīn obeyed the orders of his Shaikh and began to disburse the money among the deserving people. Having finished the work, he brought the candle in just to see whether any coin remained there. He found a coin there and put it in his cap to deliver it to some poor fellow in the morning. Soon afterwards Bābā Farid went to the mosque to lead the 'Ishā prayer. Three times he began the prayer and then discontinued it. There was something which weighed heavily on his heart and disturbed the concentration of his mind. "Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn," interrogated Bābā Farid, "Have you distributed all that money?" "Yes," replied Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn, "but one coin remains." Bābā Farid angrily took back that coin and threw it away, and then peacefully led the prayer. 'Alī Aṣḡhar Chishtī adds that throughout the night Bābā Farid lamented why he had touched that coin.¹

During the period of his prime-ministership Balban was extremely anxious to secure the throne. Eager to seek spiritual help for the fulfilment of this desire, which secretly tormented his heart, he went to the Shaikh. The saint, whose intuition had revealed to him the secret of Ulūgh Khān's heart, at once recited the quatrain :

فریدون فرخ فرشته نبود . ز عود و ز عنبر سرشته نبود
زداد و دهش یافت آن خسروی . نوداد و دهش کن فریدون نوی

(Faridun, the blessed, was not an angel; he was not made of agallochum or ambergis. He attained that position of kingship through his bounty and liberality. Thou shouldest bestow liberally and Faridun is thee).²

It is said that Balban had great faith in the saint.³ But his respect or devotion could not, in any way, influence the saint's outlook or policy towards the Sultān. Once a man who was in great distress requested the Shaikh to write a letter of recommendation to the Sultān. It was not the Shaikh's practice to write recommendatory letters to the rulers

¹ *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, (MS).

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya refers to a saint Khwāja Karīm who did not touch any coin after taking up *faqirī*. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 11.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 81-82.

³ *Maṭlūb-u'l-Ṭālibīn*, (MS).

The author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* tells us that once Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn came to see the Shaikh. Thousands of people gathered in the *Khānqah*. The Shaikh got annoyed. A mysterious voice advised him not to be annoyed at the rush of visitors. Thereafter the Shaikh never refused interview to any one nor did he ever show any annoyance when thronged by visitors (p. 167).

or the officials. He avoided it, but when the person insisted he did not deem it proper to injure his feelings. He wrote the following letter :

رفعت قصته الى الله ثم اليك فان اعطيتك شيئا فالمعطي هو الله وانت
المشكور وان لم تعطه شيئا فالمانع هو الله وانت المعذور¹

(I referred his matter first to God and then to you. If you will grant anything to him, the real Giver is God but you will get the credit for it. If you do not give him anything, the real preventer is God and you are helpless in the matter.)

Every word of this brief letter is dignified and shows the extent to which the Shaiikh maintained the dignity of religion and mysticism before worldly powers.

A POPULAR BUT INCORRECT STORY

'Alī Aṣghar Chishtī says that Shaiikh Farīd had married a daughter of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban.² He gives a long account of the marriage and the relations between the Shaiikh and the Sulṭān. Later writers have copied this account uncritically and now, the story has assumed the sanctity of an unchallengeable tradition in the *Khānwādah-i-Farīdīyah*. There are strong reasons for disbelieving this story.

First, no contemporary historian refers to it. There are several passages in the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīa-u'd-dīn Baranī where one feels that, had it been a fact, Baranī would have surely mentioned it. Secondly, the author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* who belonged to a family closely associated with the Shaiikh, does not mention this fact at all, though he has referred to some minor incidents of Balban's faith and respect for Bābā Farīd. Had it been true, he would have never omitted it. The *Fawā'id-i-Fu'ād*, the *Khair-u'l-Majālis* and the *Aḥsan-u'l-Aqwāl* contain many important facts about the Shaiikh's life but none refers to this marriage of the saint with the Sulṭān's daughter. Thirdly, the Shaiikh who always advised his disciples to abstain from the society of princes and kings, would never have preached honesty with a stolen goose in his armpit. It can, therefore, be definitely rejected as a later concoction fondly circulated by uncritical and superstitious minds.

SHER KHAN AND THE SHAIKH

Sher Khān, a cousin of Balban, was the governor of Multān. He was a gifted administrator and a valiant soldier. He protected the north-western frontier at a very critical moment in the history of this

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 72.

² *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, (MS).

country. He had no faith in the saint and sometimes spoke ill about him. The Shaikh used to recite the couplet :

افسوس کم از حال صنت نیست خبر
آنکه خبرت شود کم افسوس خوری¹

(Alas! You have no knowledge of my condition. When you will come to know, what will be use of being sorry).

The Shaikh's sayings, as quoted in the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, contain numerous precepts for the general public. One and only one advice is given to the political authorities :

ملک بوزیر خدا ترس مبط کن²

(Entrust the country to a God-fearing *wazir*).

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 221.

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 77.

CHAPTER XX

Relations with the Non-Muslims

With the settlement of the Mussalmāns in India conciliation and concord between the various culture-groups was not only a moral and intellectual demand but an urgent social necessity. The conquerors had established their political supremacy by virtue of certain moral and physical qualities, but they could not continue to rule while the majority of their subjects differed from them in race, language, religion and culture. The orthodox theologians, conservative and reactionary as they were, rarely appreciated the change in the mood of the time and seldom tried to reconstruct their religious thought according to the needs of the hour. The Muslim mystics, however, rose to the occasion and released syncretic forces which liquidated social, ideological and linguistic barriers between the various culture-groups of India and helped in the development of a common cultural outlook. As their *Khānqahs* were the only places where people of different shades of opinion, professing different religions and speaking different languages met, these *Khānqahs* became veritable centres of cultural synthesis where ideas were freely exchanged and a common medium for this exchange was evolved.

Shaiikh Farid-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar is the first Indo-Muslim saint about whose contacts with the Hindu religious thinkers and religious discussions with them we have clear and definite information. Hindu *Jogis*¹ used to visit his *Jamā'at Khānqah* very frequently and the inmates sometimes discussed interesting problems with them. Shaiikh Nizām-u'd dīn Auliya twice met Hindu *Jogis* in his *Jamā'at Khānah*.² He discussed with them the two elements in human nature—the spiritual and the animal. The exposition of the Hindu ideas on the subject was much appreciated by Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn

¹ The word *Jogi* or *Yogi* means a student of the Yoga school of philosophy, which teaches how, by suppression of the breath, mental abstraction, and the like one can obtain supernatural powers of divination, second sight etc. They were worshippers of Siva, and were divided into two groups—the *Kanphatta Jogis* (also known as *Darshanas*), and *Augar Jogis*. The former used to pierce their ears. They buried their dead in a sitting posture. For details, see Wilson, *Sects of the Hindus*, p. 130 *et seq.* Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, pp. 228, 235. Bhattacharaya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, pp. 371, 399-400, 236. Some *Jogi* families may still be found in Pakpattan. *Panjab District Gazetteers*, Vol. XVIII B, p. XXIX.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 84-85; 245.

Auliā.¹ On another occasion a Hindu *Jogī* explained to him his views about the birth and character of children, relationship between wife and husband and other similar subjects.²

In what language did the Shaikh converse with the Hindu *Jogī*? Obviously all these conversations must have been carried in the earliest form of Urdu, i.e. *Hindiwi*. We have more than one evidence of the Shaikh speaking in Hindiwi.³ In fact the *Khānqah* of Bābā Farīd was one of the earliest cradles of the Urdu language.⁴

It is for the first time in the accounts of Shaikh Farīd that we find a reference to the *Kāfirān-i-Siyah-Posh*.⁵ It is stated in the *Aḥsan-u'l-Aqwāl* on the authority of Shaikh Burhān-u'd-dīn Gharīb that the *Kāfirs* once visited the Shaikh *incognito* as Muslim *faqirs*. The Shaikh welcomed

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 84-85. The Shaikh told his audience: "Once I was in the presence of the Great Shaikh in Ajodhau. A *Jogī* came. I asked him: "Which way do you follow? What is the real thing in your discipline?" He (the *Jogī*) replied: "Our science says that there are two worlds ('*ālam*') in the human *nafs*. One is the '*ālam-i-'Ulu'*', the other is the '*ālam-i-Sifl*'. From head to navel it is '*ālam-i-'Ulu'*' and from navel to feet it is '*ālam-i-Sifl*'. The way to discipline is that there is all sincerity, purity, good manners and good dealings in '*ālam-i-'Ulu'*'. In '*ālam-i-Sifl*' there is observation, purity & chastity.....I liked his conversation."

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 245.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*, pp. 183, 185, 194.

⁴ See also, *The Sufis Work in the Early Development of Urdu Language*, Dr. Maulvi 'Abd-u'l Haqq, pp. 5-7.

⁵ When Muslim political power extended to Afghanistan and India, the conquest took its usual paths along the great rivers and high ways, and for centuries the inaccessible recesses of the *Hindukush* remained untouched. The inhabitants practised their own religion and became known to the surrounding Muslim civilization as the *Siyah posh Kāfirs* of the *Hindukush*. Timūr tried twice to turn this region into a dependency (1399 A.D.). A marble pillar, not far from the fortress of Najil, commemorates the victory of Timūr over the *Siyah Posh Kāfirs*. Aḥmad Shāh unified Afghanistan, Dost Muḥammad completed his work by annexing Ancient Bactria (1851), but *Kāfiristān* remained practically independent. In 1896 Amir 'Abd-u'r Rahmān organized an expedition against them. Alexander Burnes writes about them in 1838. "They have no distinction of black and white *Kāfirs* that I could hear of; and one of the *Kāfir* informants assured me that his tribe looked upon all as brothers, who wore ringlets and drank wine....They have no books, nor is reading or writing known in the nation." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII, p. 326.

Sir G. C. Robertson gives the following information: "The old division of *Kāfiristān* into the countries held by the *Siah-Posh* and those inhabited by the *Safed-Posh* was more convenient than scientifically correct. The *Siah-Posh*, the black-robed *Kāfirs*, are made up of several different tribes, some of which have been at war with one another from time immemorial; but in spite of that, they have a good deal more in common than merely a resemblance in dress. They do not all speak the same language, but the difference in speech appears to be more a difference of dialect than a radical distinction of language....A convenient classification is to divide all *Kāfirs* into (1) *Siah-Posh*, (2) *Waigulis*, (3) *Presungulis* or *Viron* people....." pp. 74-75. For interesting details about the *Siyah-Posh Kāfirs*, see the *Kāfirs of the Hindukush*, Sir George Scott Robertson, (London 1900); A. Burnes's article: "On the *Siah-Posh Kāfirs* with specimens of their language and costume." (*J.A.S.B.* 1838, pp. 325-333); *Afghanistan and its Late Amir*, published by the Christian Literature Society for India, (London & Madras, 1902) pp. 12-13; Rolf Henkl's article: "The Wooden Sculptures of *Kāfiristān*" (*J.R.A.S.* Vol. XVI, No. I, 1950, pp. 65-72); Morgenstern, "Report on a Linguistic Mission to *Afghanistan*" (Stockholm, 1935).

the party, but understood the game that the visitors were playing. He asked his servant to take the leader of the party to a small room and lock him up but to give food and water to the rest. After three days Shaiikh Farid visited the room of the leader and asked "Oh you! I will release you if you accept Islām." The Shaiikh's observation must have sounded strange to his disciples in the *Jamā'at Khānah* as the visitor was already showing himself as a Mussalmān. The leader promised to accept Islām. When he came out he had the sacred thread of the Hindūs under the *Khirqah* of the Muslim mystics that he was wearing. He told the Shaiikh that he had visited the *langars* (kitchens) of Muslim saints of *Khurāsān* and Hindustān for 30 years, but none had ever been able to discover him.¹

BĀBĀ FARĪD AND CONVERSION OF HINDUS TO ISLĀM

Did Bābā Farid convert any Hindus to Islām? Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb has said in one of his articles that "converting non-Muslims was no part of the mission of Chishtī *Silsilah*."² He says that early mystic records (*malfūzāt* and *maktūbāt*) do not refer to a single case of conversion. This, of course, is correct. But the tradition in some of the tribes of the Punjab is almost incontrovertible on this point. The tribes claim³ and have been claiming for centuries that their ancestors were converted to Islām by the great saint. Their claim will hold good unless challenged on the basis of some positive historical evidence.

The following tribes living in and around Pak-pattan claim to have been converted to Islām by Bābā Farid:

1. *Siāl*.
2. *Sarhangwālian*.
3. *Bahliyān*.
4. *Adhakān*.
5. *Jhakarwālian*.
6. *Bakkan*.
7. *Hakan*.
8. *Sian*.
9. *Khokarān*.
10. *Dhudhiyān*.
11. *Tobiyān*.⁴

¹ *Aḥsan-u'l-Aqwāl*, MS.

² *Islamic Culture*, April 1946, p. 140.

³ E. G. See *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, concluding section.

Hunter: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X, p. 532.

⁴ These tribes have been referred to by the author of the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*.

The *Siāl* tribe is one of the most important tribes of the Punjab. Steedman says that the modern history of the Jhang district is the history of the *Siāl*. About the antecedents of this tribe he writes: "The *Siāl* are descended from Rai Shankar, a Punwar Rajput, a resident of Daranagar between Allahabad and Fattahpur. A branch of the Punwars had previously emigrated from their native country to Jaunpur, and it was there that Rai Shankar was born. One story has it that Rai Shankar had three sons, Seo, Teo, and Gheo, from whom have descended the Sials of Jhang, the Tiwanas of Shahpur and the Ghebas of Pindi Gheb. Another tradition states that Sial was the only son of Rai Shankar, and that the ancestors of the Tiwanas and Ghebas were only collateral relations of Shankar and Sial. On the death of Rai Shankar we are told that great dissensions arose among the members of the family, and his son Sial emigrated during the reign of Allaiddin Ghori (?) to the Punjab. It was at this time that many Rajput families emigrated from the Provinces of Hindustan to the Panjab, including the ancestors of the Kharrals, Tiwanas, Ghebas, Chaddhars, and Punwar Sials. It was the fashion in those days to be converted to the Muḥammadan religion by the eloquent exhortations of the sainted Bawa Farid of Pak Pattan; and accordingly we find that Sial in his wanderings came to Pak Pattan and there renounced the religion of his ancestors."¹

No definite information is available about the *Sarhangwālian*. Is it possible to connect this tribe with Sarhangā whose devotion to Shaiḡh Farid has been discussed earlier?²

The Khokars, the Dhudis and the Tobes were important tribes of the Punjāb. The Khokars are ordinarily considered a Rajput tribe. They are most numerous along the valleys of the Jhelum and Chunab, and specially in the Jhang and Shahpur districts.³ The Dhudis are a small Punwar clan found with their kinsmen — the Rathor — scattered along the Sutlej and the Chunab. Their original seat is said to have been in the Mailsi *tahsil* of Multān.⁴ The Tobas generally belong to the Jhinwar and Macchi castes, and are often fishermen as well as sinkers

¹ Steedman, *The Jhang Settlement report*, p. 244; also Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, p. 147-8; Lepel Griffin, *Panjab Chiefs*, p. 502 *et seq.* For the tradition about the conversion of the Sial tribe to Islām see *The Panjab Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 207.

² See *Supra*, p. 34.

³ *Panjab Castes*, pp. 172-173.

Firīhtah (Vol. I, pp. 59-60) says that the tribe of Khokhars was converted to Islām by Sulṭān Shihāt-u'd-dīn of Ghur. Probably a part of the tribe was converted to Islām by him. Bābā Farid too would have converted a part of the tribe, because even now the tribe is divided between the two religions. See *Report on the Census of the Panjab*, pp. 257-8. In 1911 there were 8,093 Muslim Khokhars in the Montgomery district, where Bābā Farid's influence is very great. (*Panjab District Gazetteers*, Vol. XVIII, B, 1913, p. XXX).

⁴ *Panjab Castes*, p. 147. The total number of Dhudi Mussalmāns in the Montgomery District is given as 778. Of these 641 lived in Pak-Pattan. *Panjab District Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII, B, 1913, p. XXXII.

and cleaners of wells.¹ The *Jhakars* are also a small caste, comprising of both Muslims and Non-Muslims.²

Some ceremonies at the shrine of Bābā Farīd on the occasion of his 'Urs (Death Anniversary) show the deep attachment of some converted tribes to the great saint. The ceremonial distribution of *Jillā* (small bread with *Halwah* on it) refers to the occasion when the Jalhora, a caste of fishermen, had joined the discipleship of the saint. The *Jillā* is prepared by the women of the Macchī caste.³

¹ *Panjab Castes*, p. 264, also *Panjab District Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII, B, p. XXXIII.

² *The Panjab District Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII, B, p. XXXIV.

³ See also a small booklet on the 'Urs ceremonies at the shrine of Bābā Farīd, by Pīr Sayyid Imām 'Alī Shāh published in 1341 A.H./1922 A.D.

CHAPTER XXI

Estimate

البدور يطلع من فريد جبينه .: والشمس تغرب في شقائق خده
ملك الجمال باسرة فكانها .: حسن البريه كله من عنده¹

Shaikh Farid expired in 1265 A.D. During the 688 years that have passed since his death, this sub-continent has witnessed countless political upheavals. Innumerable rulers have appeared on and disappeared from the stage of history; empires have been set up and pulled down; civilisations have come and gone; but throughout these multitudinous changes his mausoleum has remained a place of deep veneration, love and devotion for the people. Even Timūr, who, during his cyclonic invasion of India, carried sword and fire into every town that came in his way, spared Ajodhan, put his sword in the scabbard and respectfully presented himself at the shrine of the great saint.² Posterity has treasured his memory with love and respect.³ Muslims, Hindus⁴ and Sikhs⁵ alike hold him in high esteem. Accounts of travellers,⁶ saints,⁷ and kings⁸ are full of respectful visits to his shrine.

So long as Bābā Farid lived he was the cynosure of public eyes. People visited him from far and near and basked in the sunshine of his spiritual favours. We find in his Khūnqah visitors from Khurāsān,⁹

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 58. These verses are taken from an old *qasidah* written in praise of Shaikh Farid. "The full moon rises from the forehead of Farid; and in the redness of his countenance the sun sets. He is the king of Beauty. The entire creation derives beauty from him."

² *Tārīkh-i-Firishlah*, I, p. 156.

³ The town of Faridkot was named after him. See M. Longworth Dames' article in the *Ency. of Islām*, ii, p. 67.

David Ross, utterly ignorant of the Shaikh's life and character, writes: "Bābā Farid is alleged to have been the head, if not the founder, of the Thaggs. He is one of their patron saints. Through the mystic agency of numerous Thagg bands he exercised great influence all over India and brought about extraordinary occurrences." *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh*, p. 112. Such statements betray colossal ignorance of Muslim religious life and institutions of medieval India and should be treated with the contempt they deserve.

⁴ Munshi Mohan Lal writes about him in 1836: "The Hindus of this country believe him to be an inspired man, and pay respect to his monument like the Mussalmāns." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, October 1836, p. 637.

⁵ *Oriental College Magazine*, 1938-1939.

⁶ *Rihla Ibn Battūṭah*, Vol. II, pp. 13-14; *Journal of Captain Wade's Voyage*, J.A.S.B. 1937, pp. 192-3.

⁷ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 75-173; *Takmilah Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 112.

⁸ *Tārīkh-i-Fitrūz Shāhī*, 'Atif, p. 198; *Badā'uni*, Vol. II, p. 133.

⁹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 63-64.

Jurjān,¹ Dehlī,² Uchch,³ Nāgaur,⁴ Multān,⁵ Ajmer,⁶ Buhār,⁷ and Lakhnawī.⁸ "There was no end to visitors," Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya informs us, "the door of Shaiḫ Farīd's house was not closed till about midnight."⁹ These visitors included all sorts of men—ministers, *maliks*, soldiers, mystics, merchants, scholars, etc. Those who knew him best loved him most, and none came into touch with his eager, sympathetic and beautiful nature without receiving an impulse to higher aims. The hard hearted man of business and the fastidious man of letters were equally touched by his conversation and the charm of his character.

It is difficult to imagine to-day the extent to which he was loved and revered by his disciples.¹⁰ They came from distant places to pass some days of spiritual bliss at the feet of their master and when they thought of going back to their homes their hearts ached.¹¹ He was a model of moral and spiritual perfection for his disciples and they carefully noted every word and act of his and followed him according to their capacities.

Disciples apart, eminent contemporary mystics held him in high esteem.¹² Shaiḫ Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā offered to exchange all his disciples for Shaiḫ Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hānswī, a favourite disciple of the Shaiḫ.¹³ Shaiḫ Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī once wrote to him in a letter :

دریغا خاطر مگر جمع بودی . . . بهدش کردم می گوهر فشانی
فریدالدین وصلت یار بهتر . . . کم بادش در کرامت زندگانی¹⁴

(Doubtless, had my heart been quiet and collected I would have scattered pearls of praise. Farīd-u'd-dīn wa-Millat is a great friend. May his life be spent in bestowing spiritual gifts).

¹ Sayyidi Maulā came from Jurjān to see the Shaiḫ.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 219.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 81.

⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 188-189.

⁵ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 215.

⁶ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 238.

⁷ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 57.

⁸ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 335.

⁹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 74 ; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 64.

¹⁰ For Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya's love for him, see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 149. Also his couplets in praise of Shaiḫ Farīd as quoted by Shaiḫ 'Abd-u'l Wāhid Ibrāhīm in *Sab' Sanābil*, p. 57.

¹¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 156-157.

¹² Qādi Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, an erudite scholar and a very respected saint of Dehlī addressed him thus :

”فقیر حقیر ضعیف نحیف محمد عطا کم بند؟ درویشان است و از
سر و دیده خاک قدم ایشان“

Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād, p. 150.

Allah Diyah says (*Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p. 162) that the name Farīd-u'd-dīn was given to him by the famous mystic poet Khwāja Farīd-u'd-dīn 'Aṭṭār. No earlier writer has referred to it and no reliance can be placed on it in view of the fact that Bābā Farīd was born in India and Khwāja 'Aṭṭār never visited this country.

¹³ *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, (MS).

¹⁴ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 150.

It was due to his spiritual greatness and his reputation that a grandson of the founder of the *Chishtī Silsilah* in India, *Khawāja Waḥid-u'd-dīn*, requested him to admit him to his discipline.¹ During the reign of *Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd* (1246-1266 A.D.) the *Shaikh* was an outstanding figure of all-India importance. The following account of *Amīr Ḥasan* will give some idea of his eminence and popularity: In the month of *Shawwāl* 651 A.H./1252 A.D. *Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn* marched towards *Uchch* and *Multān*. In the way his soldiers decided to pay their respects to the great *Shaikh*. When the soldiers flocked to the city all the streets and bazars of *Ajodhan* were blocked. How to meet and see the *Shaikh*? A sleeve of *Bābā Farīd*'s shirt was hung up on a thoroughfare. An ocean of humanity began to surge. The sleeve was torn to pieces due to overcrowding. The *Shaikh* himself was so painfully mobbed that he requested his *murīds* to encircle him in order to save his person from the eager public trying to elbow its way to him. But an old *farrāsh* (a menial servant who spreads the carpets) who was not satisfied with merely offering *salām* from a distance, broke through into the circle and fell on the *Shaikh*'s feet, pulled them towards himself, kissed them and exclaimed: "*Shaikh* Farīd! You feel annoyed and do not thank God for his blessings." The *Shaikh* began to weep. He thanked the *farrāsh* for his admonition and asked for his pardon.²

Bābā Farīd's greatness was the greatness of a loving heart. Day and night he attended to the problems of the misery-stricken people, assuaged their wounds, pulled up their hearts and infused new life and confidence in their broken nerves. His sympathy gave them the courage they needed to face the ordeals of life. Very different were the problems that they brought to him. "I have many daughters, but have very meagre means. I am worried about their marriage." "My brother is very seriously ill. He might have expired in the meantime."³ "My

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 238.

² *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 145-146.

When the *Shaikh* visited *Dehlī* after the death of his master, *Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī*, he was deluged by visitors and friends. From the small hours of the morning till late into the night he had to attend to his visitors, and accept their invitations for feasts. He had to start for Friday prayer much before time because it was difficult to reach the mosque in time for prayer due to large crowds of admirers on the way. As he stepped out of his house, people eagerly rushed towards him, kissed his hands and encircled him. No sooner did he manage to come out of this circle that he found himself encircled by another group. He got rid of one circle to be enmeshed into another and this process went on until he reached the mosque tired and wearied. One day he felt annoyed with the people who had surrounded him on his way to the mosque. "This is a blessing of God," a disciple told him, "why do you get annoyed?" *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 145.

³ *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 147; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 85-86.

officer is very harsh on me¹." The Shaiikh's heart went out in sympathy to everyone.²

The Shaiikh had taken upon himself the stupendous task of lifting up humanity from the pitfalls and quagmires of sin and superstition, and to this task he applied himself with remarkable zeal and singleness of purpose. From early morning till late into the night a stream of visitors flowed into his Khānqah. He cheerfully welcomed everyone and never got sick of the visitors who brought to him tales of their misery.

The Shaiikh was a living embodiment of those moral principles and precepts which he taught to the people. Behind every ethical principle which he expounded there was the force of his own example. It was difficult, therefore, to resist the influence of his teaching.

Bābā Farīd did not like casuistical discussions. His clear, frank and lucid exposition rarely left any room for debate. He went to the heart of every problem and so when he ended his elucidation his opponent found himself convinced. Arrogant and pedantic scholars were hypnotised by the Shaiikh's power of conversation.

The Shaiikh had all those qualities of head and heart which were needed to build up an organization, a deep understanding of human nature combined with clarity of thought and intuitive intelligence. Never did his mind err in assessing the real worth and value of a *murīd*. He always selected the best men for the most difficult job. When Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya went to pay his respects to him at Ajodhan, he was in his nineties but all his mental and physical faculties were as sharp and alert as ever. There was a large number of disciples round him, some quite old and experienced, but he selected this newly arrived young man to succeed him. And who can say that the choice was not sound!

Bābā Farīd passed his long life in extremely indigent circumstances. Clad in grimy and tattered clothes, living in a tumbling mud-house, he was proud of his poverty. He could, had he ever so desired, lead a life of affluence and plenty. The rulers were always there with *mithāls* of

¹ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 147.

² Sharf-u'd-dīn, a grandson of Qādī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī reached Ajodhan from Nāgaur to request the Shaiikh to admit him into his discipline. His slave-girl, whom he had purchased for a hundred *tankahs*, gave him a handkerchief to be presented to the Shaiikh on her behalf. When Sharf-u'd-dīn placed her present before the Shaiikh, he remarked:

خدايش آزادى دهد
(May God set her free).

The Shaiikh's remark set Sharf-u'd-dīn thinking and after considerable mental deliberation he at last decided to set her free, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 188-189.

Jāgirs, but the Shaikh preferred to starve rather than debase the traditions of higher mysticism and dishonour himself by chiming in with the moods of the rulers and indulging in political flattery. Continued starvation often brought his children to the verge of death, but Shaikh Farid, who had nerves of steel, stuck like a granite to his principles and allowed the storms to rage round him.

What type of social order the Shaikh desired to be established in the world? His *Jamā'at Khānah* gives some idea of his social aims. Every inmate of the *Jamā'at Khānah* had to work and contribute his share of labour towards the management of the household. Whenever food was available every body had his equal share, no special dishes or preferential treatment was permitted for any one. All lived, studied, slept and prayed in a large room. No discrimination, on any ground, not even on the basis of piety (*ittiqā*) was permitted to prevail in the *Jamā'at Khānah*. All lived there with the same facilities and suffered from the same difficulties and misfortunes. Let us not forget that it was the age of Balban when hideous distinctions were being perpetrated between man and man. The Turkish aristocracy rolled in purple and enjoyed all the fruits of an expanding imperialism while the common people toiled and struggled ceaselessly for their bread. The Sultān had so completely segregated himself from the commonalty that to long for an interview with him was to cry for the moon.¹ As Khusraw had said :²

عروى و راى امکان چه خيال فاسد است اين
هوس جمال سلطان بدل گدا نشستم

The Sultān's hatred for men of low and obscure origin was so intense that he mercilessly dismissed them all from public offices.³ What a contrast to the ideals of Shaikh Farid ! To him all human being were equal, 'made of the self-same clay', whatever their race, creed, colour or status. Though within the political confines of the Sultanate of Dehli, the *Jamā'at-Khānah* of Shaikh Farid was not a part of the Dehli Empire. It was at that time, the only place under the Indian sun where the Emperor of Hindustān and a penniless pauper were received in the same way. The contamination of court life had not touched its spiritual serenity and classless atmosphere. It was an oasis of love in a world of strifes and conflicts. The Shaikh who presided over this *Jamā'at*

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, Baranī, pp. 29-33.

A rich Dehli merchant offered all his wealth for the honour of one interview with the Sultān ; his ambition was never fulfilled.

² This couplet occurs in *Ghurrat-u'l-Kamāl* (See *Dīwān-i-Amir Khusraw*, p. 406). It was composed at a time when Balban was fresh in the memory of the poet.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 36-37.

Balban reprimanded his prime minister, Nizām-u'l-Mulk, and ordered an inquiry into his own descent because he had supported a man of an obscure origin on grounds of his experience and ability.

Enānah was a tower of strength for the low born, the down trodden, the humble and the despised people whom he inspired and cheered in their struggle for existence—

Struggler in life's weary battle,
Though misfortune's lot you know
Though your task be heavy,
Sink not tamely down in woe.

With these traditions of poverty, penitence, selfless devotion to the cause of humanity and eagerness for the moral and spiritual uplift of man, Shaikh Farid remains alike an example and an inspiration to all men for all time. In the words of Shelley :

*"His fate and fame shall be
An echo and a light unto eternity."*

APPENDIX A

Why Ganj-i-Shakar ?

Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya has referred to his master full one hundred times in his conversations, the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*. It is surprising, that he has not used anywhere the title, '*Ganj-i-Shakar*'. Later *tadhkirahs*, however, always call him *Ganj-i-Shakar* and give various reasons for this title.

(i) The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* says that he was called '*Ganj-i-Shakar*' or '*Shakar-bār*' because some pebbles, which he had put into his mouth in extreme hunger due to continued fasts, had turned into sugar crystals, (pp. 67-68).

(ii) Maulānā Jamālī says that one day Bābā Farīd went to see his master. He was wearing wooden sandals and the roads were muddy due to rain. He had been fasting for seven days and was extremely weak. He slipped and fell on the ground. Some mud touched his mouth and instantly turned into sugar. When he reached the residence of his master, the latter remarked :

”بابا فرید الدین مسعود! بدین پاره گلی که در دهنش رسید
و شکر گشت، عجب نیست که حضرت تبارک و تعالی وجود تو را گنج شکر
گردانیده است، همواره شیرین خواهی شد“

(Bābā Farīd-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd! A little mud that went into your mouth has turned into sugar. No wonder if the Almighty turns your whole being into a treasure of sugar and keeps it always sweet.)

Jamālī says that when Bābā Farīd returned from his master's house he heard people saying everywhere : “Behold! Shaiikh Farīd, the *Ganj-i-Shakar* is coming.” *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 46-47.

(iii) One day a merchant came to Ajodhan in order to see the Shaiikh. He was carrying sugar with him. The Shaiikh asked him for some sugar. The merchant replied that he had salt, not sugar, with him. “It shall be salt,” was Bābā Farīd's reply. On opening the sacks the merchant found, to his great surprise, that there was all salt in them. He rushed to the Shaiikh and begged for his pardon and its reconversion into sugar. The Shaiikh's prayers turned the salt into sugar. From that time the Shaiikh came to be known as *Ganj-i-Shakar*. Bairam

Khān Khān-i-Khānān who had great faith in Bābā Farid thus refers to this incident in a couplet :

کان نمک ، جهان شکر ، شیخ بهر وبر
آن کز شکر نمک کند و از نمک شکر

(Mine of Salt, World of Sugar, Lord of Ocean and Earth who turns sugar into salt and salt into sugar). *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*. pp. 52-53.

(iv) Muḥammad Ghauthī says that one day the Shaiḥ met some *Banjāras*¹ who were carrying sugar. The Shaiḥ asked them as to what they were carrying. Fearing lest the saint might demand something they replied that they were carrying salt. "It will be salt," said the Shaiḥ. The sugar at once turned into salt. The *Banjāras* repented and the Shaiḥ converted it again into sugar. *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, MS.

(v) Bābā Farid was very fond of sugar in his childhood. Once his mother told him : "God sends sugar to that boy who punctually offers his morning prayers," and began to keep a small packet of sugar under his pillow every night. When Bābā Farid offered his prayers in the morning he found that packet under his pillow. When Bābā Farid reached his twelfth year his mother stopped putting that packet, but the packet continued to reach him from the divine source. His mother did not know about this. Once she asked him whether he was receiving that sugar. She was taken by surprise when she received the reply in affirmative. She made a careful inquiry and was convinced that the gift came from the divine source. *Tarikh-i-Firīḡtah*, Vol. II, p. 338.

Whatever the reason, the saint is known and remembered today as *Ganj-i-Shakar*. In this book I have called him either Shaiḥ Farid, following Shaiḥ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, or Bābā Farid, following Shaiḥ 'Alā-u'd-dīn Ajodhanī.

¹The term *Banjāra*, derived from *banij* "a trader" or perhaps from *banji* "a pedlar's pack," is used for travelling traders. For details, see *Panjab Castes*, pp. 254-255 ; *Races of the North Western Provinces of India*, Vol. I, pp. 52-56.

APPENDIX B

Apocryphal Malfuz Literature attributed to Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud Ganji-Shakar

The following works are generally attributed to Shaikh Farid:

- (1) *Fawā'id-u's-Salākīn*, alleged to have been the *malfūz* of Khwāja Qutb-u'd-din Baḳḥtiyār Kākī compiled by Shaikh Farid-u'd-din.
- (2) *Asrār-u'l-Auliya*, alleged to be the *malfūz* of Bābā Farid, compiled by Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ishāq.
- (3) *Rāḥat-u'l-Qulūb*, alleged to be the *malfūz* of Bābā Farid, compiled by Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya.

Both internal as well as external evidence militates against the theory of their genuineness. Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb has shown in his thought-provoking article "*Chishtī Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period*," (*Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I No. 2, pp. 1-43) that all this literature is fabricated and cannot be used, with any justification, for reconstructing the lives or teachings of the Chishtī saints.

(1) Amīr Ḥasan records on Wednesday, 15 Muḥarram 709 A.H. (June 1309 A.D.) in his *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*: "A friend was present. He said, "A man showed me a book in Awadh and said it was written by you. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din replied: "He spoke wrongly. I have not written any book." تفاوت گفتہ است عن هیچ کتابی نہ نوشتم ام P. 45.

In view of this statement the *Rāḥat-u'l-Qulūb* may safely be rejected as a fabrication.

(2) Ḥamid Qalandar records in his *Khair-u'l-Majālis*: "A friend represented: "There is a difficulty in the *malfūz* of Shaikh 'Uṭhmān Harvanī. It is this....." Shaikh Naṣir-u'd-din replied: "These *Malfūz* are not his. I have also come across this manuscript; there are many statements in it which are not worthy of his conversations. Shaikh-u'l-Islām Farid-u'd-din, nor Shaikh-u'l-Islām Qutb-u'd-din nor the Chishtī saints nor any of the preceding Shaikhs of my order has written any book."

"این ملفوظ ایشان نیست - این نسخہ برمن ہم رسیدہ است و دران بسیار الفاظ است کہ مناصب اقوال ایشان نیست..... خدمت شیخ نظام الدین صی فرمود کہ من هیچ کتابی نہ نوشتم ام، زیوا کہ خدمت شیخ الاسلام فریدالدین و شیخ الاسلام قطب الدین و خواجہ چشت قدس اللہ ارواحہم و از مشایخ شجرہ ما هیچ شیخی تصنیف نہ کودہ است" *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 52.

These are the statements and verdicts of those saints who were the real inheritors of the spiritual legacy and traditions of Bābā Farid. The

fact that they considered this literature as fake and fiction is sufficient for their rejection as unreliable.

(3) The following passage from the conversations of Sayyid Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz throws considerable light on the *malfūz* attributed to Shaiḵh Farid-u'd-dīn :

”ملفوظی از ان شیخ فریدالدین در اجودھن دیدم کہ آن را نسبت بہ مولانا بدرالدین استحاق می کنند - سر بسر ہم افترا است - می گویند جمع کردہ مولانا بدرالدین استحاق نیست“

(I saw in Ajodhan a *malfūz* of Shaiḵh Farid-u'd-dīn, (the compilation of which) is attributed to Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq. It is altogether a fabrication. It is said that it was not compiled by Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq.) *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilam*, p. 134.

It is futile, after this observation, to bestow any care on the *Asār-u'l-Auliya*.

(4) Shāh 'Abd-u'l 'Aziz, the famous *Muḥaddith* of Dehli, considered this literature unreliable. It is recorded in his conversations :

”کتاب فوائدالفراد نہایت معتبر است... مگر دیگر ملفوظات مشتبہ است“

(The book *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* is very reliable. but other *malfūzāt* are doubtful.) *Malfūzāt-i-'Azizī*, p. 81.

Apart from this external evidence, we have sufficient reason to reject this literature as fake on the basis of strong internal evidence. Let us examine each work separately :—

(A) *The Fawā'id-u's-Salakīn* : (i) The conversations are recorded for five days in 584 A.H. (1186 A.D.). The date is absurd. (ii) Bābā Farid is made to refer to himself as Mas'ūd Ajodhani. This too is absurd. He did not settle at Ajodhan till years afterwards. (iii) Shaiḵh Qutb-u'd-dīn Baḵhtiyār Kākī is made to state that when he and Shaiḵh Ḥamid were circumambulating the Ka'bah, they met a slave of Khwāja Abū Bakr Shibli. A slave of Shaiḵh Shibli would have had to be about 250 or 300 years old at the time of Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn. (iv) Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Iltutmish is made to attack the territory of Rai Pithaura and take him alive. (v) We know on the authority of *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* that Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn died owing to the effects of *Sama'* (mystic music). Here the Shaiḵh is made to survive the emotional strain after enjoying it for seven days.

(B) *The Asrār-u'l-Auliya* : (i) The conversations cover the period from 1233 A.D. to 1246 A.D. Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq had not yet met Shaiḵh Farid-u'd-dīn. (ii) The *malfūz* is a monologue. The audience sits like blocks of stone. Genuine *malfūzāt* like the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* and the *Khair-u'l-Majālis* give the impression of a living and breathing audience. The discussions of the saints are broken and punctuated by intelligent

questions of the audience. In the *Asrār-u'l-Auliya* all the telling is done by the Shaikh and when he finishes the discourse the audience disperses. (iii) Bābā Farid met Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-din Tabrizi in Kahtwāl. In this *malṣūz* the Shaikh meets Shaikh Tabrizi in Baghdād. (iv) In a book finished in 1246 A.D. Bābā Farid is made to refer to his younger brother as : "This well-wisher had a brother, named Najīb-u'd-din Mutawakkil." Shaikh Najīb died only a few months before the death of Bābā Farid. (v) We know definitely that Bābā Farid never visited Badā'un. But here he is taken to Badā'un and made to bless the boy, Shaikh 'Uṣūli, who later on became the teacher of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya. (vi) Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznawī and Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya are brought face to face in an audience of Bābā Farid. Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznawī died long before Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya joined the discipline of Bābā Farid.

(C) *The Rāḥat-u'l-Qulūb* ; (i) We know from other contemporary works that Bābā Farid gave his *Khilāfat Nāmah* to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya when the latter visited him for the last time. In this *malṣūz*, the saint is made to promise the kingdom of Hindustān to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din in the very first meeting. (ii) Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznawī and Qāḍī Ḥamid-u'd-din Nāgaurī are made to attend some meetings of the Shaikh at Ajodhan in the presence of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya. Both of them had expired long before Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya reached Ajodhan and joined the discipline of Shaikh Farid. (iii) Bābā Farid is made to meet a pupil of Shaikh Dhīn-nūn-al Miṣrī in Badakhshān. (iv) In the conversation of the years 1257-58 Bābā Farid is made to describe the death of Shēr Khān who expired in 1264 A.D., the death of Shaikh Bahā-u'd-din Zakariyyā who died in 1263 ; Shaikh Saif-u'd-din Bākhārzi who died in 1259-60.

APPENDIX C

Baba Farid and the Guru Granth

The Gurū Granth, compiled by Gurū Arjun in 1604 A. D., has a chapter entitled "*Salok Shaiikh Farid ke*" which contains 112 *Shalokas* of Shaiikh Farid. The authorship of these *Shalokas* is a moot point. Some scholars hold the view that Shaiikh Farid-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar is their real author. Others think it improbable and ascribe them to Shaiikh Ibrāhīm, who was a descendant of the great saint and had met and conversed with Gurū Nānak. There are others who consider that the compositions of these two saints have been mixed up in these *Shalokas*.

That Bābā Farid had a taste for poetry and that he could compose verses is beyond doubt. This, too, is incontrovertible that he must have used the local dialects in conversing with the people living around him. A couplet composed by the Shaiikh in the local dialect of Multān has also been quoted by Amir Khurd (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 367). But we do not come across a single reference in the contemporary works to his having left such a large number of *Shalokas*. Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and his successors have given interesting details about the Shaiikh, his literary tastes, his daily life, etc. Had it really been a work of the great saint they could not possibly have ignored it. It is, therefore, futile to attempt a decision on the basis of the external evidence. The matter must be considered in the light of internal evidence.

These *Shalokas* are in the *Multānī* language, but they contain a number of Arabic and Persian words, e.g. گریبان (collar); لطیف (nice, dainty); عقل (wisdom); درویشی (sainthood); پل صراط (The bridge over the eternal fire across which the Muslims believe they shall pass into Paradise); صبح (morning); صوف (wool); مصل (prayer carpet); عمل (action); حال (station); سلطان (king); پروردگار (Satan, Devil); رب (Nourisher); روح (soul); دیدار (vision); محبت (love); ملک الموت (Izrael, the angel of death); دوزخ (Hell); نوبت (turn); عمر (age);

The burthen of these *Shalokas* is Divine Love, need for the purification of inner life, value of penitences in spiritual progress, the ephemeral character of the human existence and other similar subjects. Striking metaphors and similies, mostly borrowed from the atmosphere around, add to the effect of these *Shalokas*. They seem to be the gushes of a heart overflowing with Divine Love. They emphasize the ascetic aspect of spiritual discipline. Taken as a whole, the picture of Shaiikh

Farīd that will emerge from these *Shalokas* will be more akin to the Shaikh Farīd of the fabricated *maḥfūzāt*.

Linguistic analysis of these *Shalokas* reveals that they contain idioms and expressions of a much later date. The *nomc de plume* used in these *Shalokas* is Farīd, but the Shaikh used to refer to himself as Mas'ūd, not as Farīd.

That these *Shalokas* are not the actual compositions of the great saint seems almost certain, but the fact cannot be denied that they contain some traditional sayings of the Shaikh and refer to some of the popularly accepted and circulated incidents about his penitences. *Shalokas* number 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 33, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 47, 50, 51, 54, 61, 70, 71, 72, 73, 84, 89, 90, 91, 99, 101, 102, 103, 111, 112, and 116 refer to views and incidents which may, to some extent, be considered with reference to Shaikh Farīd's teachings and the traditions about his penitences.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm, a contemporary of Gurū Nānak, is probably the real author of these *Shalokas* and he has expressed in his own words some of the sayings of his great master.

APPENDIX D

Sajjadah Nashins of Baba Farid's Khanqah

1. Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān
2. Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn
3. Shaikh Mu'iz-u'd-dīn
4. Shaikh Faḍl
5. Shaikh Munawwar
6. Shaikh Nūr-u'd-dīn
7. Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn
8. Shaikh Muḥammad
9. Shaikh Aḥmad
10. Shaikh 'Atā-u'llah
11. Shaikh Muḥammad
12. Shaikh Ibrāhīm
13. Shaikh Tāj-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd
14. Shaikh Faḍl-u'llah
15. Shaikh Ibrāhīm
16. Shaikh Muḥammad
17. Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf
18. Shaikh Muḥammad Sa'id
19. Shaikh Muḥammad Yūsuf
20. Shaikh 'Abd-u's-Subḥān
21. Shaikh Ghulām Rasūl
22. Shaikh Muḥamad Yār
23. Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn
24. Shaikh Allah Jawāyā
25. Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn.

APPENDIX E

The Bihishti Darwazah (Door of Paradise)

Captain C. M. Wade writes :—

“ There are two doors to this apartment (in which the saint lies buried), one to the north and one to the east. That to the east, called the “ Door of Paradise,” is never opened but on the fifth day of the sacred Moharram, when numbers of pilgrims, both Hindus and Muslims, come to visit the shrine, and all who pass through this door-way are considered saved from the fines of perdition. The door-way is about two feet wide, and cannot be passed without stooping, and the apartment itself is not capable of containing thirty people crowded together : yet such is the care which the saint takes of his votaries on these occasions, that no accident or loss of life has ever been known to occur. A superlative heaven is allotted to those who are first to enter the tomb on the day mentioned. The rush of precedence may, therefore, be better imagined than described. The crowd of pilgrims is said to be immense, and as they egress from the sacred door-way, after having rubbed their foreheads on the foot of the saint’s grave, the air resounds with the shouts of FARID ! FARID ! ” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, March 1837, p. 192.

It is very difficult to trace the growth of this legend. No contemporary, or even later, writer has referred to the Bihishti Darwazah.

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